

Fibula

Editorial Board:

Piotr Tylus (Chief Editor)**Iwona Piechnik** (Co-Editor)**Roman Sosnowski** (Co-Editor)

Translation:

Piotr Mierzwa

Design and DTP:

Marcin Klag

ISSN 1899-640X

Copyright © by Interdisciplinary Research Team "FIBULA"
and Faculty of Philology, Jagiellonian University of Cracow

cover: Gall. Quart. 144, fol. 4 r°

All rights reserved. No part of this journal may be reproduced in any
form without prior written permission from the Publisher Faculty of
Philology, Jagiellonian University of Cracow
ul. Gołębia 24, 31-007 Kraków, Poland
fibula@inbox.com
www.filg.uj.edu.pl
www.filg.uj.edu.pl/fibula

Fibula

newsletter 1/2009 (2)

ISSN 1899-640X

The history of the collection of Romance
manuscripts in the Berlin Collection at the
Jagiellonian Library in Cracow



Magdalena Bartkowiak-Lerch	
Niccolò di Mino Cicerchia and Other Religious Pieces	
in the Manuscript Ital. Qu. 81	
in the Jagiellonian Library Berlin Collection	7
 Krzysztof Kotuła	
Nicolas Halma's unpublished work	15
 Iwona Piechnik	
Scandinavian accents	
in the Berlin collection of manuscripts <i>Gallica</i> ,	
kept in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków.	22
 Piotr Tylus	
Cookery books among the French manuscripts	
in the Jagiellonian Library Berlin Collection in Kraków	43

Niccolò di Mino Cicerchia and Other Religious Pieces in the Manuscript Ital. Qu. 81 in the Jagiellonian Library Berlin Collection

Many precious manuscripts are found in the Jagiellonian Library Berlin Collection, one among them being the codex of the catalogue number Ital. Qu. 81. The 15th century manuscript consists of several texts written by several scribes. Most of them were written in Italian (*volgare*), a number of prayers is in Latin (ff. 61^r–v^o and 64^r–66v^o). The manuscript is rather well-preserved, the text is legible, although the leaves have grown dark and bear the traces of humidity and fungus. Minor deterioration is visible at places, such as tears and small losses of material. Several leaves of the codex are also missing: the first one (the original foliation begins at number 2), one folio between ff. 38 and 39 (traces of a torn out leave are visible; it is also attested by the discontinuous original foliation: number 39 is followed immediately by number 41) and the leaves which were numbered in the original foliation: 65 (between ff. 62 and 63), 67, 68 (between ff. 63 and 64) and 72 (the last folio of the manuscript). F. 72 was most probably empty, as the text ends at f. 66v^o. The codex has been restored: the leaves losses are for the most part repaired, the final leaves have been guarded. Also the binding has been restored: a maroon leather spine was added at a later period. The structure of quires is regular: the codex begins and ends with quires of the structure 5+5, between which quires 2+2 and 6+6 alternate.

The original foliation is visible, executed in black ink and in Arabic numerals. The modern foliation in pencil is found next to it. A scribe or a rubricator marked also the first two texts (not taking the calendar into account) with Roman numerals in red ink. In modern times the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* were added on ff. 2^r for text marking.

Besides the notes which do not belong to the corpus of texts, the codex was written by four scribes: the first ff. 2^r–10^r, the second ff. 10v^o–61v^o, the third ff. 64^r–64v^o and the fourth 64v^o–66v^o.

A liturgical calendar is to be found on ff. 2r^o–10r^o. The manuscript here is executed very carefully: pencil ruling had been erased, rubrics are present in the whole calendar (red ink serves here to highlight some of the holidays and headings describing months). Additionally, red ink was used for plain initials. Whereas in literary texts (marked with letters *b, c, d*) ornaments were executed in red ink, in the form of highlighted letters at line beginnings, pieds-de-mouche, and, rarely, plain initials. Ornaments were diversified also in red ink with the so-called drôlerie. In the third and fourth text a lesser care for appearance was taken: ruling is in fact erased, but there are no ornaments in other colours. The only ornaments to be found on ff. 64r^o–66v^o are indeed initials in black ink.

The handwriting points to the execution of the manuscript in the 15th century: rotunda (ff. 2r^o–10r^o)¹ and *cursiva textualis* partly similar to bastarda.²

The original binding was preserved: wooden with the remains of a metal catch-plate (*fibula*). The codex, inferring from the accession number: *acc. ms. 1907. 186*, and the catalogue numbers of the Royal Library in Berlin present on the manuscript, was acquired by the library in 1907.

The discussed manuscript is a type of compilation of liturgical and moralistic-religious texts in the manner of those created for Latin illiterate tertiaries or other laymen associated with the Franciscan Order, or for the Clare Sisters. The designation of the text for the Franciscan milieu is attested, among other things, by the mode of liturgical calendar construction (ff. 2r^o–10r^o), where a remarkably large number of Franciscan holidays was included as well as Latin prayers (f. 61v^o) to St. Francis.

The codex most probably dates back to the second half of the 15th century. Several elements testify to it: the paper, on which triple mountain watermarks are present, similar to the watermark used to mark the Bassano paper (1486),³ and in the shape of a hat, similar to the one noted as the mark of paper pro-

duced in Treviso (1477),⁴ which does not preclude the possibility of an earlier use of the watermarks, in undated manuscripts. The second hint for the manuscript dating is the liturgical calendar, which does not include St. Catherine of Siena, canonised in 1461, while under the date of the 20th of May (f. 5r^o) the day of St. Bernardine of Siena was noted, who had been canonized in 1450. Lemm dates the manuscript generally to the 15th century.⁵ Taking all the hints to account, it can be generally assumed that the manuscript originates in the second half of the 15th century. However, it should be heeded that the watermarks are not identical with those, which point to the places and dates aforementioned, hence it is conceivable that indeed the period of the manuscript creation (excluding the text of the prayers found on ff. 64r^o–66v^o) comprises the years 1450–1461.

As for ascertaining the place of the manuscript origin one thing appears to be evident: the codex was created in the Franciscan milieu and for it; not for the monks, who knew Latin, but for the Clare Sisters or people associated with the order. The liturgical calendar provides valuable information here: the number of Franciscan saints whose holidays were noted in the calendar seems to be intentional. Namely, it includes St. Anthony of Padua (under the date of the 13th of June, f. 5v^o), St. Bernardine of Siena (the 20th of May, f. 5r^o), St. Clare (her holiday is noted on the 11th of August – f. 7r^o, the translation on the 2nd of October – f. 8r^o), St. Francis of Assisi (under the date of the 4th of October – f. 8r^o), finally, St. Elizabeth of Hungary who was not actually a Franciscan saint, but a patroness of the Order and for that reason was soon introduced to the Franciscan hagiography (her holiday is to be found under the date of the 19th of November – f. 9r^o). The inclusion of only two Dominican saints: St. Dominic, under the date of the 4th of August (f. 6v^o) and St. Peter Martyr (whose cult was widely spread also in the Franciscan Order), under the date of the 29th of April (f. 4v^o) as well as the absence of St. Thomas Aquinas, after all canonised long before the manuscript creation, for in 1323, appears to be tendentious and rather excludes a Dominican origin of the text. As for the localisation of the manuscript

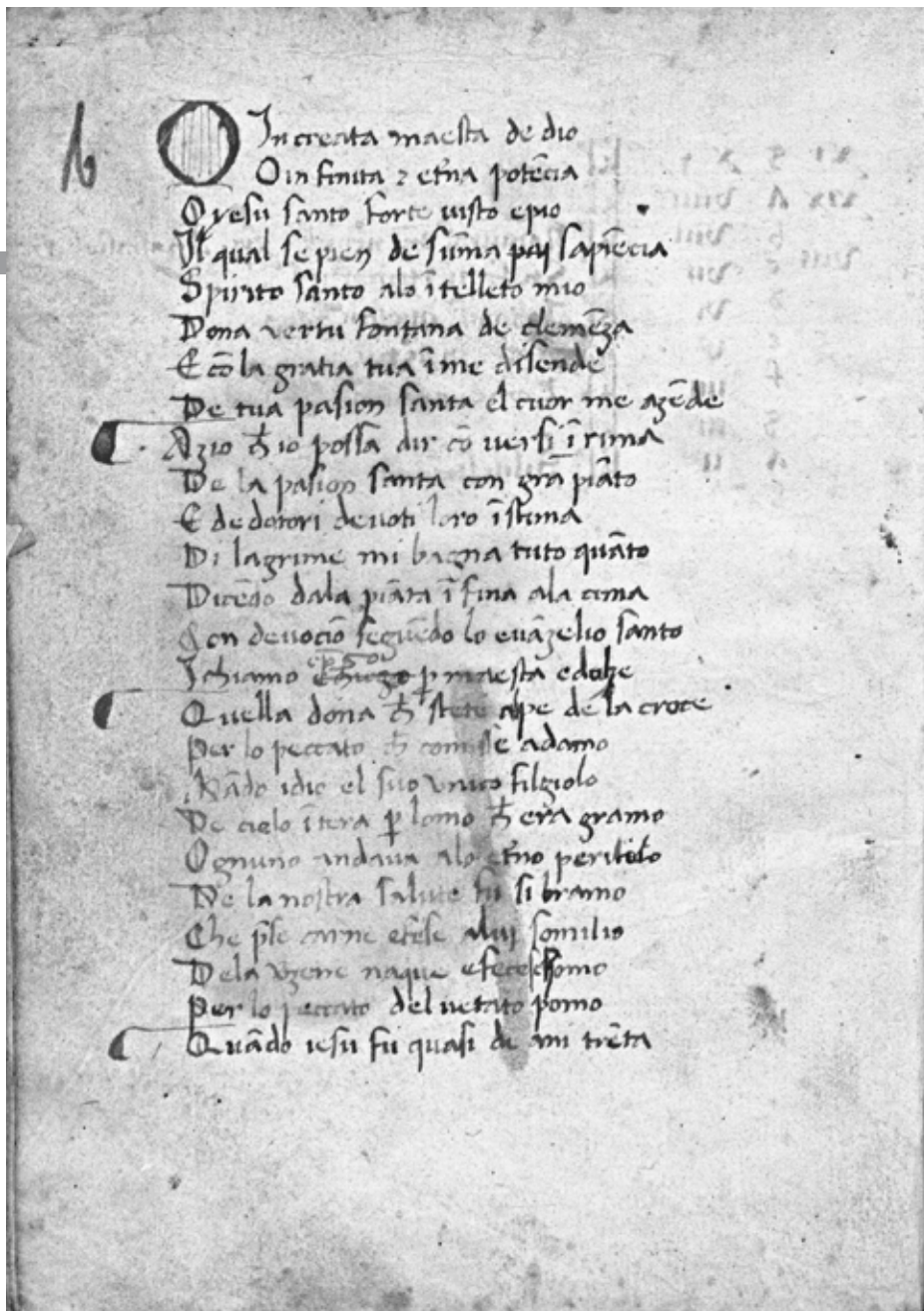
1 Cf. *Scriptura latina libraria a saeculo primo usque ad finem medii aevi LXXVII imaginibus illustrata*, cura Ioachimi Kirchner, Monachii in Aedibus Rudolphi Oldenbourg, MDCCCCLV, tab. 44. Cf. also *Biblioteche e Archivi*, SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, Vol. IX (2): *I manoscritti medievali di Padova e provincia*, tab. XII.

2 Cf. *Scriptura gothica libraria a saeculo XII usque ad finem medii aevi LXXXVII imaginibus illustrata*, cura Ioachimi Kirchner, Monachii et Vindobonae in Aedibus Rudolphi Oldenbourg, MDCCCCLXVI, tab. 56a. Cf. also *Biblioteche e Archivi*, op. cit., tab. LXXXII.

3 Cf. Gerhard Piccard, *Wasserzeichen*, Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1979, vol. XVI, 2, tab. 2560.

4 Cf. Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes, dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, Paris–Genève, 1907, vol. I, tab. 3396.

5 Siegfried Lemm, *Mitteilungen aus der königlichen Bibliothek, Herausberg von der Generalverwaltung*, vol. IV: *Kurzes verzeichnis der romanischen handschriften*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1918, pp. 83–84.



Niccolò Cicerchia, *La passione di Gesu Cristo* (f.10v)

origin, a curiosity here is the holiday of the consecration of Sts. Peter and Paul Basilica (the 18th of November, f. 9r^o) – Cappelli gives the date as a holiday celebrated in Rome. Sts. Peter and Paul Basilica, however, was erected only in 1550, or a century later than the period of the discussed manuscript origin. Perhaps then the church in question is San Pietro al Monte Basilica in Civate (Lombardy), which today indeed is not under the name of Sts. Peter and Paul, but in the past was consecrated to them. If in fact this is the basilica in question (the date of the celebration of its consecration differs only by one day in relation to the modern one – the 17th of November, and such shifts happened in the past), this would be an additional hint as to the Northern origin of the manuscript.

The first literary text of the manuscript is *La passione del nostro Signore Giesu Christo* (ff. 10v^o-54v^o), written in ottava rima in Sienese dialect, by Niccolò Cicerchia⁶ (according to Lemm's and Moreni's identifications).⁷ The last name of the author is sometimes also transcribed as Tricerchia: there is a Passion text by a certain Niccolò Di Mino Tricerchia in another 15th century manuscript found in the Jagiellonian Library collection (Ital. Qu. 50). Here, however, we encounter two versions of the same text by Niccolò Cicerchia.⁸ Neither text can be considered an autograph, as they are a century older than the times when Niccolò Cicerchia lived. One can conclude from the comparison of both texts that Cicerchia and Tricerchia is the same person – a poet living in the 14th century, a member of the Sienese Compagnia dei Disciplinanti della Madonna, which took particular care of the beauty of language and the protection of precious codices (which they also copied). Hence, it is possible that a scribe's mistake slipped into the text of the codex of the catalogue number Ital. Qu. 50, for the author is known as Cicerchia. In Moreni's critical edition the text of *La passione* begins with its author indication and the date 1364. In his edition Moreni used two codices found in the Public Library in Siena (cat. no F. 11. 10 and R. 11. 24), both written in the same handwriting, in identical language versions. One can learn from other codices from the 15th century: Il. VI. 541 found in Biblio-

6 Niccolò Cicerchia (*ci. 1335–† ci. 1376), *La passione del nostro Signore Giesu Christo in ottava rima*.

7 Cf. S. Lemm, *Mitteilungen...*, op. cit., pp. 83–83. Cf. Domenico Moreni, *Mariano da Siena, Mariano Trinci, Mariano di Nanni, Niccolò Cicerchia, "Istoria della passione e morte di Gesu Cristo scritta nel buon secolo della lingua da Niccolò Cicerchia"*, Codice inedito, pubbl. da Domenico Moreni, Firenze: Stamperia Magheri, 1822.

8 Cf. also *ibidem*.

teca Riccardiana in Florence and Plut. xc. Cod. 45 from Biblioteca Laurenziana, also in Florence, that the authorship of *La passione* was attributed to the very Giovanni Boccaccio.⁹ There is, however, no mention of the piece in modern editions of Boccaccio's oeuvre.

Cicerchia's text in the codices found in the Jagiellonian Library collection is not dated; in addition, the version from the codex Ital. Qu. 81 lacks the whole incipit. It is also unfinished: in his critical edition Moreni ascribes the number CCLXXVIII to the last stanza transcribed in our codex, which is followed by four subsequent stanzas (the text ends in the codex Ital. Qu. 50 similarly to the edition). There are also differences in the transcription of some words in comparison to the Sienese version. Assuredly, a precise analysis of the differences will provide valuable information about the origin of the scribes.

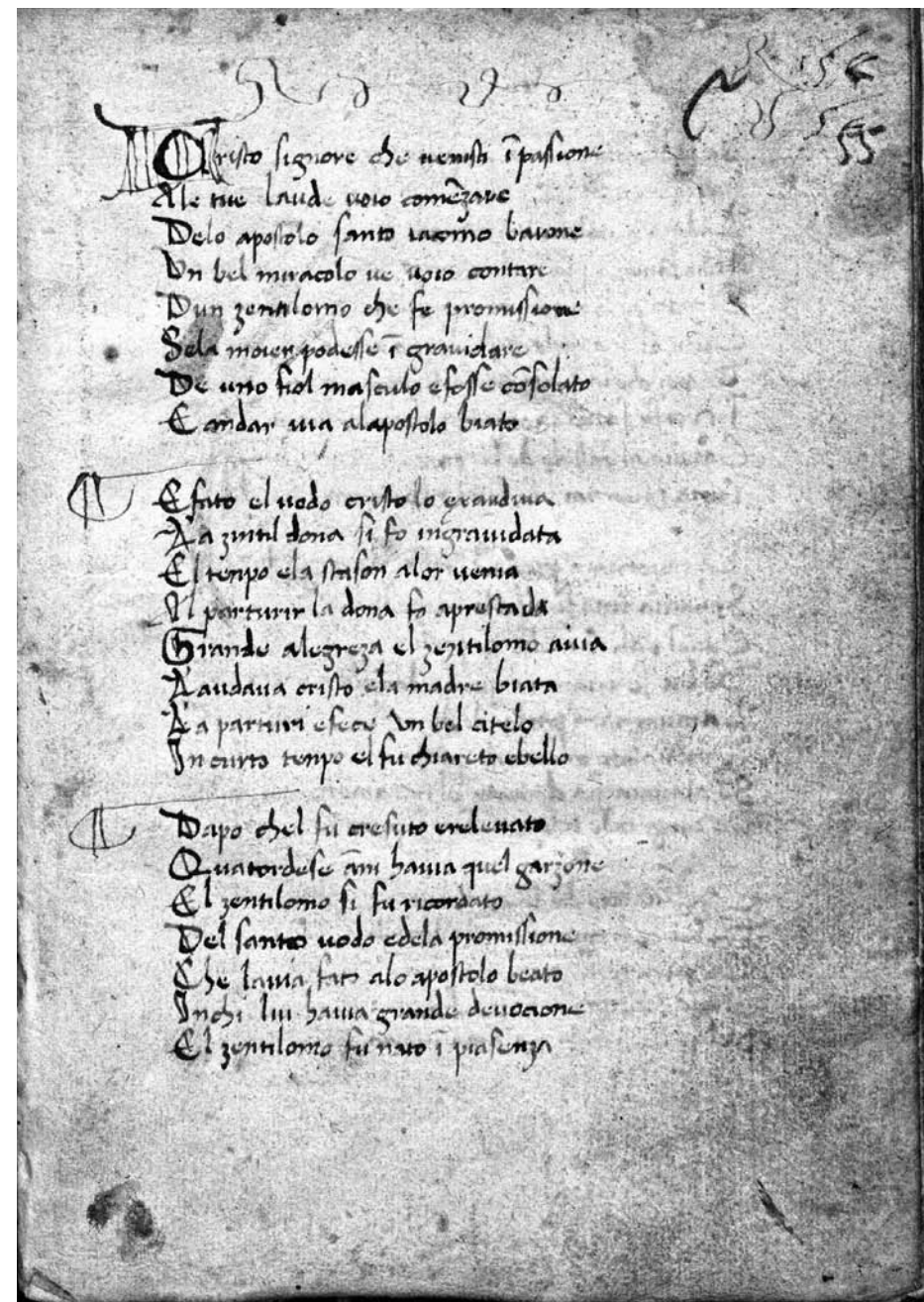
The following text is a history of the miracle of Saint James, the apostle: *Miracolo de lo apostolo Santo Iacomo d'un zentilomo che fe promissione* (55r^o–60r^o), of uncertain authorship. At the present stage of research it has been ascertained that it is not an Italian version of a fragment of the second book of *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (*Codex Calixtinus*), the work attributed to Pope Calixtus II (of the 12th century). The second book of the aforementioned work describes 22 miracles performed by St. James, commonly known in the Middle Ages, and is it written in Latin prose. The miracle of St. James described in our codex does not allude in any way to the miracles from *Liber Sancti Jacobi*.

Further on in the codex one finds: an anonymous verse prayer to Our Lady – *Vergene Madre Pia* (60r^o) and a Latin prose prayer (61r^o). Latin communion prayers and an exemplum from the life of St. Bernard are written on ff. 64r^o–66v^o. These final texts are distinguished by a definitely different handwriting, but still from the 15th century.¹⁰

The space between the texts is filled with handmade notes of a completely lay nature, perhaps testifying to lay owners of the codex. For the most part they are calculations or notes concerning the handing on of books (to sub-

⁹ Cf. *ibidem*, p. L [Preface].

¹⁰ For handwriting, cf. *I manoscritti medievali di Padova e provincia*, a cura di Leonardo Granata, Andrea Donello, Gianna Maria Florio, Antonella Mazzon, Antonella Tomiello, Federica Toniolo, Biblioteche e Archivi 9, SISMEL, Regione del Veneto: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2002, tab. LXXXII (the third quarter of the 15th c.), but also tab. LXXXIII (the beginning – the half of the 15th c.).



Miracolo de lo apostolo Santo Iacomo d'un gentilomo che fe promissione (f. 55r^o)


Nicolas Halma's unpublished work

Among the manuscripts in the Jagiellonian Library Berlin Collection there is a volume of the catalogue number Ms. Gall. Fol. 208. Only the basic facts concerning the work are provided by Lemm's catalogue,¹ namely, its title: *Analyse de l'abrégé latin de l'Almageste de Ptolémée de (Joh. Muller) Régiomontan*; its author: Nicolaus Halma; and publication date: 1813/1816. Thus, apparently, the identification of the text enclosed in the book should not cause any problems. A closer examination, however, demonstrates that it is not so simple a task as it might have initially seemed.

The name of the author is well-known. Nicolas Halma, born on the 31st of December 1755 in the town of Sedan, receives a thorough education in Collège de Plessis in Paris.² Next he is ordained, and in 1791 he is appointed the dean of Collège de Sedan. Two years later, after the closing of the school, he goes back to Paris and works as a military surgeon. In 1794 he becomes the secretary of École Polytechnique, then he teaches mathematics in the Parisian Prytanée and geography in the military school in Fontainebleau. After Napoleon's coronation (1804) he occupies the position of the librarian to Empress Joséphine and at École des Ponts et Chaussées. Subsequently, during the Restoration, he is bestowed with the function of the curator of Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. He dies in Paris on the 4th of June 1828.

Nicolas Halma is known to posterity mainly through his translations of scientific treatises into French and works devoted to the history of astronomy. Among his 18 published works³ there are primarily studies of Ptolemy and translation of commentaries by Teon of Alexandria, a mathematician and the last head librarian of the Library of Alexandria. Halma's most popular publica-

sequent owners), but for instance on f. 63r^o–v^o we find the series of numbers which may be astronomical computing tables.¹¹

The codex contains many interesting literary attempts as well: there are poems about the months of December and March on f. 1r^o, while f. 62v^o bears a German inscription, possibly from the end of the 15th century, which most probably is a conventional opening of a letter, unfinished, testifying to the fact that the manuscript found his way very quickly into German hands. A large number of annotations of the type, originating for the most part in the 15th century or not much later, indicates a rich history of the manuscript, which still remains to be discovered. 

¹¹ It is common knowledge that efforts to reform the Julian calendar were being undertaken throughout the Middle Ages due to the time difference arising between solar and calendar time. Since the 14th c. the efforts gained momentum, as the Popes themselves started promoting the reform (Clement VI, and Sixtus V in the 15th c.) The matter of calendar reform was raised at the Council of Constance (1417) and Basle (1434). However, only in the 16th c. the Lateran Council V (1512–1517), at the behest of Leo X, published appropriate scientific studies. Over a half of century later, in 1582, Pope Gregory XIII brought the reform into effect. Perhaps the notes on the leave 63r^o–v^o are a trace of the kind of calculations performed by one of the owners of the codex for private needs.

¹ Siegfried Lemm, *Mitteilungen aus der Königlichen Bibliothek*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1918, vol. IV, p. 13.

² Biographical information quoted after: C. G. Herbermann et al., *The Catholic encyclopedia : an international work of reference on the constitution doctrine, discipline and history of the Catholic Church*, New York: R. Appleton, 1910, vol. 7, p. 120.

³ A precise list of all the published works by Nicolas Halma can be found in his posthumous work *Examen historique et critique des monumens astronomiques des Anciens*, Paris: F.G. Levrault, 1830, pp. XLI–XLII [Preface].

tion was his two-volume translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* which was released between 1813 and 1816 under the title: *Composition mathématique de Claude Ptolémée traduit pour la première fois du grec en français sur les ms. originaux de la bibliothèque impériale de Paris*. Taking into consideration the publication date of the text, it is credible that Lemm had in mind this very work, even as the title provided by him in his catalogue does not agree with the one quoted above. When such a doubt arises, it is necessary to compare the critical edition with the text of the manuscript.

Almagest is a very well-known work. The treatise was written by Ptolemy of Alexandria most probably after 150 CE.⁴ Its fame is manifested also by the fact of having different titles in different cultures. The most frequent form is derived from *كتاب المجسطي*, *al-kitabu-l-mijisti*, or 'The Great Book'. The work, however, was written in Greek, and the author gave it the title *Μαθηματικὴ Σύνταξις*, *Mathematike Syntaxis*. It was precisely the original title that Halma used as a starting point for translation: 'Composition mathématique', whereas a latinised form of the Arabic title (*Almageste*) appears in the Cracovian manuscript, additionally preceded by the word 'Analyse', which suggests that we are dealing not with a translation of the Greek text, but rather with a commentary on it.

The structure of the Greek original is as follows:⁵ the book is divided into thirteen parts, each of them dealing with a different subject. The first contains a short philosophical preface alluding to the teachings of Aristotle and an exposition of trigonometry aiding in the work's understanding; the second – a description of risings and settings of the stars, the length of a day and other basis issues in spherical astronomy; the third – a description of the theory of the Sun's motion; the fourth – a description of the model of the Moon's motion; the fifth – a description of the distance the Earth-the Moon and the sizes of the Earth, the Sun and the Moon as well as the solar and lunar parallax; the sixth – a description of the theory of the solar and lunar eclipses; the seventh and the eighth – a catalogue of 1022 stars; the ninth – a general description of

the motion of planets, particularly the motion of Mercury; the tenth – information concerning the parameters of the orbits of Venus and Mars; the eleventh – a description of the orbits of Jupiter and Saturn; the twelfth – an analysis of the loops made by the planets against the stars (retrogradation, stations and the longest elongations); finally, the thirteenth – an attempt to describe the motion of planets in ecliptical latitude.

Nicolas Halma's edition is characterised by significant clarity.⁶ The Greek and the French texts are placed in two neighbouring columns, which allows the reader to compare the original version with the translation at ease. After a brief consultation one can conclude that it is impossible that Ms. Gall. Fol. 208 is an autograph or a copy of the work, for the Cracovian manuscript does not contain quotations from the Greek original at all, and the French text does not agree with the text of the edition. In the light of these facts, Lemm's identification should be considered as mistaken. Hence, a precise analysis of the text enclosed in our manuscript is indispensable to be able to ascertain its place and time of origin and to answer the question whether at all Nicolas Halma is its author.

The Cracovian manuscript in its present state, of the size 310 x 205 mm, contains 162 leaves and 10 additional leaves of the number: 127a, 129a, 130a, 132a, 133a, 137a, 140a, 144a, 147a and 149a. Two separate layers of the text can be clearly distinguished. The first one is characterized by significant tidiness. It is a carefully executed copy of the text, the author of which analyses in thirteen separate chapters each of the books of *Almagest*. Interestingly, the scribe wrote the text only on the recto of all the leaves,⁷ leaving verso empty. Such a conduct can be explained by the wish to add corrections and commentaries at a later period.⁸ An identical watermark appears on all the leaves of the layer, which is accompanied by a countermark *J. Bouchet*. Edward Heawood's catalogue⁹ lists only two watermarks of the company (numbers 3797 and 3798),

4 For the dating of the work, see: N.T. Hamilton, N.M. Swerdlow, G.J. Toomer, *The 'Canobic inscription': Ptolemy's earliest work*, in: *From ancient omens to statistical mechanics*, *Acta Hist. Sci. Nat. Med.*, Copenhagen: University Library, 1987, vol. 39, pp. 55–73.

5 A valuable commentary on the work is Olaf Pedersen's book, *A Survey of the Almagest*, Odense: O.U.P., 1974.

6 The books I–VI were published in Paris in 1813 with the publisher Henri Grand, the books VII–XIII – also in Paris in 1816 in the publishing house Jean-Michel Eberhart.

7 With some exceptions. For example on f. 77v° a table appears occupying the whole surface of the page, and on f. 128v° there is a complement of the missing fragment of the text from f. 129°.

8 Which indeed happened, as we shall see later on.

9 *Watermarks: mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries*, Culver City: Martino Publishing, 2003.

the first of which is dated to 1813 and the second to 1823. The form of neither of them agrees exactly with the shape of the watermark on Ms. Gall. Fol. 208; only the countermark of the number 3797 exhibits considerable similarities to the one to be observed on our manuscript (size, the appearance of the letter, the characteristic rhomboid dot after the initial). However, it is not sufficient to date precisely the first layer of the text. It is possible, if the author is actually Nicolas Halma, that the text was written during or already after the work on the translation of *Almagest* had been completed and it was the author's intention for the text to be a supplement to his editorial-translation work.

The second layer differs significantly from the first. A substantial number of leaves of different sizes containing supplements to the first layer was pasted between the leaves of it. Special graphic signs (circles, crosses, etc.) allow finding in the original text the places to which each of the added fragments refers. Additionally, all the new leaves were marked with a code designating their belonging to an appropriate book of *Almagest* (L.1 through L.13). It was necessary, as each of the thirteen parts has its own pagination.¹⁰ In the essential places additional notes allow a quick orientation in the text structure.¹¹ Moreover, verso of many leaves of the first layer had been written over and the original text corrected and supplemented in many places. All the insertions were made in the same handwriting at a later period. The handwriting of the part is definitely different, hasty and careless; there are many deletions and corrections.

The dating of the second layer (the added leaves) is even more difficult than the first. The watermarks are in abundance, unfortunately, it was impossible to identify a large majority of them. However, a precise analysis of the Cracovian manuscript allowed me to discover two very precious hints. On f. 12v° there is a title, poorly visible today, written perpendicular to the text: *Ordonnances de dégrevement acquittées Sur .1791*. Obviously, the date does not determine the period of the origin of the second layer. Its author simply used pieces of old documents to note his corrections on them.¹² The

example is valuable, as it demonstrates that it is not always possible to use watermarks to date this part of the manuscript. Interestingly, however, they can serve us in establishing at least an approximate *terminus ante quem* of its origin. On f. 17 there is a watermark of the well-known type *VRYHEYT*, accompanied by a countermark *D&C Blauw*. Admittedly, it is not listed in none of the catalogues recognised by me, but it is known that the manufacture Dirk & Co. Blauw stopped functioning in 1827.¹³ It is of course only a tentative date, but allowing the argument that Nicolas Halma's authorship is absolutely probable.

Which premises might have made Lemm attribute Ms. Gall. Fol. 208 this very and not other authorship? The first hint can be found without even opening the volume: there is the title of the work tooled in gold on the spine of the book: *ANALYSE DE L'ALMAGESTE. MANUSCRIT AUTOGRAPHE DE L'ABBÉ HALMA*. It is of course insufficient to ascertain the authorship of our text, as it might have been wrongly designated by its later owner. It is all the more possible, since the binding was certainly made after Nicolas Halma's death. It is a carefully executed quarter binding, the covering of which is marbled paper and black leather. At least two elements allow us to determine precisely the date of its origin. Flyleaves and pastedowns are made of marbled paper called 'Nonpareil', in use since the 1840s.¹⁴ The second valuable hint is the name tooled on the spine: *E. NIEDREE*. The name pertains to Jean-Édouard Niedrée, the Parisian bookbinder, active between 1836 and 1864.¹⁵ All the leaves, belonging both the first and to the second layers, were very carefully prepared for binding: each was cut to the size of justification and mounted on a 'guard', which allowed the strengthening of the manuscript construction. Probably, both the bifolia and the single leaves had initially been stored unbound, and only later someone made a decision to bind them concerned with the material state of the author's heritage.

10 The manuscript was re-foliated by a German librarian already after its accession to Königliche Bibliothek collection in 1890. I refer to this very foliation in my article.

11 For example on f. 16v° there is a note *Suite du verso de p.3*.

12 It is proven also by the content of f. 5v°, where there are scraps of some writing (an address?): *Monsie [...]* *Le gian [...]*

13 Cf. William Algernon Churchill, *Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection*, Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1935, p. 13.

14 Cf. Richard D. Wolfe, *Marbled paper: its history, techniques and patterns: with special reference to the relationship of marbling to bookbinding in Europe and the Western world*, Philadelphia: U.P.P., 1990, pl. XXXV, no. 145–146, dated to 1840–1870.


15 Cf. Julien Fléty, *Dictionnaire des relieurs français ayant exercé de 1800 à nos jours*, Paris: Technorama, 1988, p. 135.

We are forced to turn to the text to obtain additional information. Determining its final title is not an easy task at all. Its original version had been changed several times, which results in a different headings appearing at the beginning of many of the books. For example the title found on f. 1r° presently looks as follows: *Analyse du 1er livre de l'Amalgeste d'après Ptolémée et l'abrégé latin de l'Amalgeste de Ptolémée, Regiomontan de (J. Muller) Régimontan, par N. Halma*,¹⁶ while the title appearing on f. 44r° is: *analyse de ce quatrième livre de Ptolémée, traduite de l'abrégé latin de Muller (regiomontan)*, and on f. 54r° *analyse du v°. livre de l'amalgeste d'après le texte grec de Ptolémée et l'abrégé latin de Regiomontan, par N. H.* Simpler titles are encountered at that, such as: *Analyse du dixième livre de l'Amalgeste* (f. 105r°). One thing, however, is beyond doubt: we are dealing with an analysis, and not a translation of Ptolemy's work.

Subsequent, very interesting information appears in the quoted titles. First, Nicolas Halma is explicitly designated as the author of the work. Second, the incipit of f. 44r° gives us an interesting clue, suggesting that it is not a translation of the Greek original, but of the summary-analysis of *Almagest* by a certain Muller. It is not difficult to ascertain the work in question, nor is it difficult to identify its author.¹⁷

A comparison of the Latin text of Müller's work (the Venetian edition from 1496) with the text enclosed in Ms. Gall. Fol. 208 allows us to make several

valuable observation. Primarily, it is impossible that the Cracovian manuscript contains a French translation of Regiomontanus' work. Clearly, however, the author relied on the German astronomer's version to some extent, which is attested by the headings of each subchapter, translated quite faithfully from the Latin text. The French text, however, is more of a commentary and analysis of the views of the two scholars, and the places, where Regiomontanus's views do not agree with Ptolemy's views, are always scrupulously mentioned. More detailed studies of the manuscript are essential to determine which fragments were directly based on the Latin text. It seems, however, that the title on f. 54r° reflects most accurately the content of the volume: the text is a commentary of diverse astronomical issues based both on Ptolemy's work and on its Latin translation-abridgement.

As for authorship, an additional argument in favour of Nicolas Halma is the initials *H* found at the end of some of the chapter.¹⁸ Perhaps they signify that some parts of the text were read and accepted by the author. The remaining question is whether Nicolas Halma is the author of both the first and the second layer. A comparison of handwriting seems to deny it, although there are known cases when a writer had two completely different handwritings, one used for a fair copy, while the other, hastier, used only for making notes. It is possible as well that the first layer was written at the behest of Nicolas Halma, by his secretary for instance, and he made the necessary corrections in the text. Interestingly, the task remained unfinished. Inasmuch as in the sixth book we still encounter some corrections (although there is no added leaves here), beginning from the seventh book the text does not bear any trace of any later intervention. Thus, it is possible that Nicolas Halma abandoned the work, or it was stopped by the author's death. We should hold on before the conclusions. However, it is more than probable that we are dealing with a never published work of Nicolas Halma, which as such certainly deserves particular attention of not only manuscript researchers, but also science historians. It is a case of one of many surprises hidden by the manuscripts from the Berlin Collection at the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków. 

¹⁶ Deletions made in the other handwriting. The title is quoted here in its entirety to demonstrate the changes made in it at a later period.

¹⁷ Johann Müller (1436–1476), known as Regiomontanus, is one of the most outstanding German mathematicians and astronomers of the 15th century. He begins his studies at the University of Leipzig at the age of twelve, two years later he moves to Vienna and becomes a student of the famous astronomer Georg von Peurbach. Indeed his master first makes him aware of how imperfect the translations of Greek works available at the time are. A project arises as a result of these reflections to correct the existing translations of *Almagest*, basing on Ptolemy's original text. Peurbach did not manage to fulfil his plan, as he died in 1461, before the age of 38. He only managed to complete the text of the first six books of the treatise before his death. His student took on the task of continuing the work. Under the lead of the papal legate cardinal Basilios Bessarion he edited the remaining seven books. The work was published only after Müller's death, in 1496, under the title *Epitoma in Almagestum Ptolemaei*. It should be noted that it is not an exact translation, but an abridgement, as the title suggests, which is enriched with the translator's commentaries. Biographical information quoted after: C.G. Herbermann et al., *The Catholic encyclopedia...*, op.cit., vol. 10, New York, 1911, pp. 628–629.

¹⁸ Cf. p.ex. ff. 24r°, 72r°, 77v° etc.

Scandinavian accents in the Berlin collection of manuscripts *Gallica*, kept in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków

In the holdings of the Berlin Collection of Romance manuscripts, kept in the Jagiellonian Library in Kraków, there are several manuscripts concerning the history of the Scandinavian countries, and referring in particular to significant persons connected with this geographical region. The time span comprised by them ranges between the half of the 17th century and the beginning of the 19th century. They are written mainly in French, but texts in Italian occur as well. All the aforementioned manuscripts are letters or notes. Some are autographs, while the majority is most probably copies of original documents, but made at the time proximate to the original.

They arrived at the Prussian Library from various sources and at varying times, which is betrayed not only by the library notes,¹ but also by bindings, some of which are leather and less or more elaborately ornamented (which would testify to the previous owners' fortune), or simply modestly bound only at the Library (which would point to the fact that they arrived there in the form of loose manuscript leaves or had a damaged original binding).

In most cases we do not precisely know wherefrom they appeared in the Berlin Collection, nor is it possible to determine exactly their previous owners (as the further stage of research will demonstrate) or the immediate scribes whose hand wrote them down. It is interesting, however, to search for an explanation of the fact that manuscripts alluding to Northern countries were written in Romance languages and made their way to the Romance part of the Berlin Collection. It is only a partial justification that French was at that time the language of diplomacy. Rather the answers are to be found mainly in

1 E.g. on the first leave of Gall. Fol. 199 there is a piece of information in German written down: *Der Königl. Bibliothek geschenkt durch den Polizei-Lieutenant Mens in Berlin. 26.6.1882*. The binding was made in the Prussian Library, as in the centre of the front cover the bookplate of the library is impressed on super-exlibris. Some leaves of the manuscript, which had been torn were guarded by a conservator.

the content of the manuscripts and in the historical connection of the people whom they describe. Below is their review in chronological order:

• Gall. Fol. 199

Mémoires sur la réunion des protestants.

Lettres de Christine de Suède etc.

Fibula

It is a collection of copies of various texts and letters from the second half of the 17th century, probably written later in the same handwriting.² Except for the first and the last texts it is mainly a copy of queen Christina of Sweden's correspondence from various years (until 1687), although occasionally their time of writing can only be inferred only from the content. Besides, the letters are not ordered chronologically.

Christina (1626–1689), a daughter of Gustav II Adolf, was Queen of Sweden in 1632–1654. She voluntarily abdicated in June 1654 in favour of her cousin Charles Gustav (who was crowned as Charles X Gustav and reigned in 1654–1660). There were several reasons for the decision: a very independent life style (she did not want to comply with the rigours of her royal status as well as was reluctant to marry) and a very expensive keeping of the court, which caused discontent in the Riksdag of the Estates. She invited many guests to the Swedish court, including renowned European scholars e.g. Descartes.³ She was a great, broad-minded intellectual. She was interested in science, literature and art. She sympathised with Catholicism, to which she converted immediately after the abdication. However, in return for her abdication she demanded a high annuity, and since then she lived abroad, in Brussels and Paris, and in 1658 she settled in Rome, where she still cultivated her interest in literature and art. She also founded an academy in Rome. She died in the city in 1689. After her death, she was buried in St. Peter Basilica as the only woman.⁴

2 The writing style of the texts can be dated to the beginning of the 18th century (cf. Hermann Degering, *Die Schrift*, Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1929, pp. XXXV and 206–208).

3 Matti Klinge notes that indeed following Christina's example subsequently other rulers from the Baltic Sea region began to invite the great personalities to their court, e.g. Frederick II invited Voltaire to Potsdam and Catherine the Great – Denis Diderot to Petersburg (cf. M. Klinge, *Itämeren maailma*, Helsinki: Otava, 1994, p. 85).

4 For more details, cf. Sven Stolpe, *Królowa Krystyna* (the original title *Drottning*

The first text of the manuscript, comprising ff. 1–6, bears the title: *Memoire contenant en abregé les moyens de procurer la reunion des Protestants*. It does not have a date or the name of the author. It consists of a short preface and 5 numbered subchapter. At first glance, it appears that these are reflections on the possibility of connecting Protestant rites and on the unity of the Church, in the manner of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's writings, who wrote profusely on the subject in the end of the 17th century.⁵ However, there are formulas on the two last pages of the text which testify to the fact that it is addressed to a king or a queen (maybe exactly Christina?): *Or il est certain que l'uniformité du culte extérieur de la Religion, l'association des Pasteurs dans les mêmes Paroisses et l'harmonie des Confessions de foÿ dans tout ce qui est essentiel à cette foi seroient une reunion parfaite et accomplie sur la quelle Dieu repandroit sans doute sa Benediction. Il ne l'est pas moins que c'est un ouvrage que Sa Majesté peut entreprendre et achever dans ses Etats avec beaucoup de facilité. Son exemple engageroit infailliblement les autres Princes à faire la même chose dans leurs Etats et ce seroit un moyen assuré d'attirer des nouvelles Benedictions de Dieu sur sa Personne Royale, sur son auguste maison, sur ses Etats, sur ses Peuples.*

On ff. 7–28 there is the correspondence of the Swedish queen Christina: 15 letters in total, of which 13 in French and 2 in Italian. The letters are written one after the other, most often without an invocation to the addressee, but only with the letter number and the information on the sender and the recipient.

The first letter, under the heading *Reponce de la Reine Christine à N.* (ending with the information about the date and place: *à Rome le 2 Fevrier 1686*) is Christina's response to somebody's earlier letter in which an unknown correspondent asks the queen for her opinion on the attempts to eradicate heresies in France.⁶ In the letter, Christina expresses her fears about the sincerity of the converted heretics' faith, and at the same time pities them. Interestingly, she defends the reasons of the Catholic Church, and she does not approve of the

manner of restoring the order and the merciless "Missionaries" conduct. In the letters N° 2. (*Rome le 18 May 1686*) and N° 3. (*Rome ce 1 Juin 1686*) Christina strongly restates her position expressed in the first letter.

The letter N° 4. contains at the beginning the invocation *Beat[issimo] Padre, and V[ostre] Santità* in the text, which testifies to the fact that it was written to the Pope – especially that the letter is closed with the formula *di V[ostre] Santità Dev[otissima] et obediens[sima] Filia C. A.*). The letter bears the date: 1687 (without the day or month), and Christina expresses in it her support to *abolire lo scandalo de[i] Quartieri* ('to abolish the scandal of Districts'). This is a letter addressed to the Pope Innocent XI, who decided to eradicate the right of asylum in Rome, where it has been in effect not only in embassies, but also in nearby districts (in Italian *Quartieri*), in which many criminals could hide from the papal court of justice. When the Pope abolished the right of asylum, France remained the only country that did not agree with the papal decision. Marquis de Lavardin, French ambassador, impudently insisted on annulling Pope's decision, what evoked a diplomatic scandal.

The letter N° 5. (ending with the information about the date and place: *Rome ce 18. Septembre 1687.*, and signed *Christina Alexandra*) is addressed to *Madame Scuderi*, i.e. certainly to the writer Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701). Christina writes to her about herself and her life as well as thanks for sending her works to read and asks to write a thing in memory of *Monsieur le Prince*,⁷ whom Christina praises and calls *Heros d'un merite*.

The letter N° 6. *La Reine à Mons[igneur] le Cardinal Azzolin.* (without the information about the date and place) is, as we read in the heading, addressed to cardinal Azzolino.⁸ Christina asks the cardinal to thank the Pope for financial support.

In the letter N° 7. *Lettre de la Reine Christine au Comte de Vaseno*, Christina persuades the count to enter a monastery (although the reason for it does not emerge from the letter). There is no information about the date and place of the writing of the letter. Certainly, it refers to Władysław Konstanty Vasa⁹

Kristina), translated into Polish by Maria Olszańska, Warszawa: PIW, 1988.

5 In 1688 Bossuet published *Histoire des variations des Églises protestantes*; his many letters on the matter have been preserved as well, written to various people e.g. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Pierre Juries and Paul Ferry.

6 The case concerns the revocation of the so-called Edict of Nantes and the restriction of the freedom of religion in France. In 1685 (i.e. a few months before the date of the present letter) Louis XIV revoked the Edict (issued in 1598 by Henry IV) which had granted the freedom of religion to Huguenots.

7 It might refer to the prince Louis II de Bourbon-Condé, known as Le Grand Condé, who died in December 1686.

8 Cardinal Decio Azzolino (1623–1689) was one of Christina's closest friends during her stay in Rome.

9 Władysław Konstanty Vasa was an illegitimate child of the Polish king Władysław

(1635–1698) who used the title of count Wasenau (or Wasenhof); he was the captain of Christina's guard during her stay in Rome.

The letter N° 8. *Lettre de la Reine Christine au Prince Adolff, après la mort du Roy Charles Goustaff le X de Suede* does not give the information about the date and place, but as it relates to the death of king Charles Gustav of Sweden (Christina's successor), the letter can be dated to 1660 (the king died on the 13th of February). In the letter Christina remembers the deceased king and addresses many requests to prince Adolf¹⁰ regarding the future of the successor to the throne (the issue of regency on behalf of the juvenile Charles XI) and of the kingdom as well as expresses hope that her relationships with the royal family will improve.

The letter N° 9. *Lettre de Monsieur Chanut à la Reine* (without the information about the date and place) appears unfinished. Pierre Chanut¹¹ describes in it his sea voyage from Sweden and thanks Christina for the opportunity to travel on the royal ship. Thus, it is probable that the letter comes from the period when Christina was still the queen of Sweden and Chanut was the ambassador to her court.

The letter N° 10. *Lettre de la Reine au Comte Magnus de la Gardie Grand Tresorier de Suede*, beginning with the formula *Mon Cousin*, is a very severe condemnation of the count's conduct, although it does not emerge from the letter what his fault was. There is also no information in the letter about the date and place, but Sven Stolpe quotes a letter of the same content in his book on Christina and the letter bears the date the 5th of October 1653. Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie (1622–1686) fell into disgrace in autumn 1653, when envious of the queen's favour, he unfairly accused two other favourites.¹²

In the letter N° 11. *Lettre de Monsieur Chanut à la Reine* its author writes to Christina that he has just found out about her decision to abdicate; he express-

es unease, but also trust in the rightness of the decision. The letter does not have the date or place, but it can be surmised that it comes from 1654 (Christina abdicated in June).

In the letter N° 12. *Lettre de la Reine de Suede au Prince de Conde* (beginning with the formula *Monsieur et Cousin*, signed *Christine*, without the information about the date and place) Christina reveals to the prince (certainly Louis II de Bourbon-Condé) her decision to abdicate and assures him that friendship and respect with which she regards him will remain constant. Similarly to the letter above, this one also does not have the date or place, but it can be surmised that it comes from 1654.

The letter N° 13., opening with the formula *Sire*, was probably written by the retiring French ambassador (P. Chanut?) who leaving the post recommends the new ambassador and wishes the new ruler (probably Charles Gustav) all the best. The letter does not contain information about the date and place, but it can be surmised that it comes from the period after Christina's abdication.

In the letter N° 14. *Lettre de Monsieur Chanut à la Reine de Suede* Chanut asks Christina not to listen to intriguers' gossip, who publicise that Chanut wants to influence the queen in accordance with French interests. The letter does not contain information on the date and place, but it can be surmised that it was written still during Christina's reign.

In the letter N° 15. *Al Ré di Polonia*, written in Italian, Christina congratulates the king of Poland (whom she calls *Liberator della Christianità*) on his victory – it is obvious that the letter was written to John III Sobieski in 1683, after the victory over the Turks on the 12th of September (although the name is not mentioned in the text).

As the final document in the manuscript, on ff. 29–31, there is a letter opening with the formula *Sire*. The abbreviation *Mté* (or *Majesté*) appears frequently in the text, so the letter is addressed to a king (probably to Louis XIV then reigning); it is signed *le tréshumble le trésobeissant le très soumis serviteur et sujet Cardinal de Bouillon*.¹³ The letter is the cardinal's request for the king's favour,

IV Vasa and his mistress Jadwiga Łuszkowska. So he was Christina's distant cousin, also belonging to the Vasa family.

10 Adolf John, the prince of Pfalz-Zweibrücken (1629–1689) was a brother of Charles Gustav.

11 Pierre Chanut (1601–1662) was the French ambassador to the Swedish court during Christina's reign. It was him who acquainted the queen with Descartes and contributed to her invitation of Descartes to Sweden. After Christina's abdication, he still maintained a correspondence with her.

12 Cf. Sven Stolpe, *Królowa Krystyna*, op. cit., pp. 88–93.

13 *Cardinal de Bouillon* is Emmanuel Théodose de la Tour d'Auvergne (1643–1715), cardinal since 1669, he was a very influential person at the court of Louis XIV (1683–1715) and he fulfilled various honourable functions in the country inc. Grand aumônier de France and the abbot of Cluny; he also held the title of the bishop of two Italian cities, Albano and Ostia.

as the cardinal fell into disgrace as a result of intrigues. There is no mention of Christina in the text, so it might be surprising that the letter is found in the same collection as Christina's correspondence. However, it is historically recognised that the cardinal obtained the king's favour and was even nominated Louis' ambassador to the Holy See. Subsequently, he returned to France, but he fell into disgrace again and lived in Rome until the end of his life. Perhaps this city connects the letters.

The diversity of the subjects and the variety of authors of the letters collected and rewritten here might surprise, for although the majority of them is connected through the person of queen Christina, the first and the last texts concern other people and events (even as the first text is concerned with the matters of faith, very dear to Christina, so it might have been addressed to her or was found in her collection). It would be interesting to know as well who the scribe was who rewrote together texts from such varied sources and times.¹⁴

It is worth underlining that Christina's letters in the present manuscript are in French and Italian. Some of them refer to the period when she reigned in Sweden and the remaining ones come from the period when Christina was no longer the queen of Sweden (since 1654). Christina was fluent in many languages, beside French and Italian also in: Latin, Spanish, German, Dutch. Throughout her life, she kept a rich correspondence, she also wrote many aphorisms and diaries.

● Gall. Fol. 126

Trois lettres de Mr Fabrice, envoyé extraordinaire. Bender 1713.

The manuscript contains three letters written in the same handwriting. They are probably copies, since the letters do not have the addressee at the beginning, but only the headings with the information: *Première Lettre M.^r Fabrice, Envoyé Extraordinai auprès, Seconde Lettre M.^r De Fabrice, Troisième Lettre de Bender*. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that it is copy in the author's own handwriting.

¹⁴ There are false catchwords in the manuscript which confirm the textual coherence of all the leaves and prove that the manuscript is complete i.e. the copies of the letters were written at the same time.

Mr Fabrice mentioned in the title is Baron Friedrich Ernst von Fabrice (1683–1750), a diplomat of the Duchy of Holstein. In 1711–1715 he was the ambassador to the Swedish king.

While Bender is the Turkish name of the city, which is a port on the Dniester; presently its name is Tighina and it is situated on the territory of Moldova. In 1538–1812 the town was located on the territory of the Ottoman Empire.

The manuscript concerns the stay of king Charles XII of Sweden (1682–1718) in Bender, where he found himself in 1709, since after the defeat in the battle of Poltava in the clash with the army of Peter I the Great (the 8th of July 1708) he took refuge on the Turkish territory with his army survivors and the Cossacks with their hetman Ivan Mazepa. As an important personage, Charles stayed in Bender not as a common refugee, but he had the status of Sultan Ahmed III's special guest, maintained by the Ottomans. During his stay Charles still was occupied by politics and persuaded the Sultan to attack Russia in 1710 – it ended in the Turks' victory and the signing of the Russian-Turkish peace treaty (1711). After making peace, the presence of the Swedish king on the Turkish territory was no longer welcome, so attempts were made to force Charles to leave, although he obstinately wanted to stay.¹⁵ The events described in the manuscript concern the incident which took place of the 1st of February 1713, when as a result of the Turkish attack on the Swedish camp king Charles XII of Sweden was forced to surrender after fierce defence and was captured and imprisoned by the Turks. In autumn 1714 he was released and "encouraged" to leave; finally, he returned to Sweden disguised as a common soldier.¹⁶

In the manuscript Gall. Fol. 126 there are three letters of Baron de Fabrice, the recipient of which is unknown. It can be inferred from several remarks in the text that the author had written letters several times to the recipient, relating to him the stay in Bender from the very beginning.

In the first letter (ff. 1r^o–23v^o) Fabrice writes that the situation around the king is tightening, as the Sultan and the Pasha of Bender persuade him forcefully to leave, since they are afraid that Charles will incite them to break the

¹⁵ Charles even gained the Turkish nickname then: *Demirbaş Şarl* 'Ironhead Charles'.

¹⁶ Cf. Alan Palmer, *Północne sąsiedztwo. Historia krajów i narodów Morza Bałtyckiego* (the original title *Northern Shores. A history of the Baltic Sea and its Peoples*), translated into Polish by Eugeniusz Możejko, Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 2008, pp. 159–160.

peace with Russia. Besides, they do not want to maintain him any longer. Whereas Charles does not want to leave, for he fears that he will be betrayed and captured by the Poles or the Russians on his way to Sweden. He plays for time and asks the Sultan for more funds to prepare the departure. On the 12th of January the Pasha arrives with a personal visit and asks Charles to set a precise date of departure, but he responds that he will leave only when he is ready. The Pasha announces that in case he refuses, the king will be forced to leave, which angers Charles. After a brief exchange of spiteful remarks (in which, among other things, Charles calls the Pasha a servant), the king asks the Pasha to leave the room, which exasperates him all the more. The following day, Charles' camp¹⁷ is surrounded by Tatars. The Swedes begin to barricade themselves in their "town". At the time, Fabrice and the English minister to the king, *Jefferyes*, attempt mediation with the Tatar Khan, the Pasha of Bender and the Great Equerry (*Buyvuk Imraour*). All of them, however, demand the departure of the king. Concurrently, Charles requests more money for leaving, entrenches himself in his camp and remains convinced that it is only the Khan's and the Pasha's plot of which the Sultan is unaware. He derides the possibility of an attack and indeed he ever so expects it.¹⁸ However, Fabrice tries to resolve the matters diplomatically and in peace by talking to both sides of the argument; he does so in vain. The letter is closed with the date of the 27th of January 1713.

In the second letter (ff. 25r°–65r°), bearing the date of the 4th of February 1713, Fabrice writes that the messengers from Constantinople have brought the decision of the Sultan (*Grand Seigneur*) and the Great Council (*Divan*) to persuade Charles to leave willingly or by force, expressed briefly in a written command: *Swed Kral calderirsun, Que le Roy de Suede parte*.¹⁹ Fabrice and other notables of *Aga Turc* and *Myrta Tartare* still try to persuade the king to depart quickly in order to avoid the possible unpleasant consequences, but Charles

persists in staying. Perforce, the Turks attack the Swedes' camp, although before the attack they yet again ask the king kindly through the messengers whether he will leave voluntarily, but the negotiations end into another argument and the exchange of spiteful remarks. The Khan gives the command to attack, but the janissaries oppose the attack on the Swedes, which results in the commanders' hesitation, the retreat from the camp and the relinquishment of the attack. Fabrice uses the time for an even greater incitement of the janissaries in favour of the king and against the Khan and the Pasha. At the time, the janissaries try again to persuade the king to leave the country and when he refuses, these janissaries, bribed by the Pasha, take the side of his army. Several hours later, the attack on the camp begins. The capture of the entanglements takes place very quickly and the king manages to take shelter in his house with difficulty. However, the enemies capture the house by entering inside through the windows. Fierce fighting takes place inside until finally Charles and his men manage to defeat the intruders and recapture the house. Nevertheless, it is still densely surrounded, so the king has to defend himself, which he bravely does, as Fabrice underlines, even calling Charles *Heros du Nord*. Finally, the enemies decide to burn the house by shooting flaming arrows onto the roof. All the Swedes run out of the burning building intending to fight further hand-to-hand, but the king, who comes out first, stumbles and falls down, and the janissaries surround and disarm him. Charles is imprisoned in the Pasha's house, and the remaining inhabitants of the camp are captured by the Tatars. At the Sultan's command, the Pasha is supposed to send Charles to Adrianople²⁰, where his future fate is to be decided on. In connection with the plans, Fabrice dispatches couriers to the courts of Sweden, Hanover and Holstein – enclosing the present account as a report.

In the third letter (ff. 67r°–91v°), bearing the date of the 28th of February 1713, Fabrice writes that at Charles' bequest he has found out where the remaining Swedes, captured in the camp during the attack, are detained. The king asks him to do everything in his power to free them, while he expects to be transported as a prisoner to the Sultan's court in Adrianople. In case of

17 Charles' camp was located under the city walls of Bender. During the several years of their stay, the king and around 500 soldiers who had arrived with him managed to build houses and barracks for themselves, and create a small town, which is described in detail by Fabrice.

18 We read on f. 13v°: *le Roy avoit resolu de pousser les choses à bout, et que son imagination étoit déjà chatouillée d'avance d'un combat si extraordinaire, qu'il* [colonel Christian Albert Grothusen, Charles' favourite] *s'étoit servi de tous les argumens du monde pour combattre cette envie romanesque [...].*

19 In Ottoman Turkish *Sved Kral kaldırılun* 'Let the king of Sweden be removed' and in French *Que le roi de Suède parte* 'Let the king of Sweden go away'.

20 The present name of Adrianople is Edirne and it is located today in the most western European part of Turkey. In the times of the Ottoman Empire it was the Sultans' favourite place of residence.

a possible ransom for the prisoners, the king equips Fabrice with credentials addressed to the Swedish Senate with the order of payment of any sum demanded by him as a reimbursement. Fabrice underlines what a great proof of the king's trust to him it is. Next, the author signals the arrival of a courier with news about the recognition and imprisonment of king Stanisław (Leszczyński) by the Moldavian prince in Jassy (today: Iași), when king Stanisław has tried to reach Charles disguised as a Swedish officer. Fabrice makes this known to Charles, who asks him to travel to Jassy immediately and do everything in his power to get Stanisław out of the territory of the Ottoman Empire so that nobody profits from his imprisonment, especially king Augustus (the Strong).²¹ Then Fabrice describes the departure of the king to Adrianople and he accompanies him in the prison journey for a few hours. Subsequently, Fabrice returns on his own to Bender and visit the Pasha, where he negotiates the release of all the captured Swedes. The ransoming of the majority of the prisoners is celebrated on the square where the janissaries bring their "slaves" and it is attended by the Turkish officers and commissars. Nevertheless, Fabrice searches for the remaining Swedes transported further or hidden in pens for two following days. He manages to ransom around a 1000 people. But as they need to be clothed and fed, Fabrice beseeches the help of the Pasha in this respect, to which the Pasha agrees. On the occasion, Fabrice asks for support to the remaining soldiers who have arrived to Bender with Charles after the defeat of Poltava: several thousands of Poles and Cossacks who have been living on the brink of poverty since the death of their commander Ivan Mazepa (1709). The Pasha consents to it as well. Fabrice also manages to buy back the clothes and a section of the documents plundered after the attack on the Swedish camp. Having concluded these issues, Fabrice wants to travel to Jassy to meet Stanisław, but the Pasha tells him that he has ordered him to be brought to Bender. In the final section of the letter Fabrice expresses the intention to travel the following day to Demotica, a town nearby Adrianople, where Charles has been detained for some time before the Sultan decides on his fate.

21 Stanisław Leszczyński and Augustus the Strong were rivals for the Polish crown. Augustus became the king in 1697, but in 1704 Charles XII overthrew him and installed Leszczyński as the king. However, in 1711 Augustus the Strong managed to regain the crown and kept it until 1733 when Leszczyński became the king again.

The whole event in Bender was not a glorious page in Charles XII's biography,²² and for a long time it was not known in detail. However, rumours were spread; it was known to Voltaire (1694–1778), who in 1730 wrote the king's biography: *Histoire de Charles XII*. Nevertheless, ten years later, in 1740, in Stockholm, Jöran Andersson Nordberg (1677–1774), a biographer at the Swedish court, published an official and glorious biography *Konung Carl den XII:tes historia* which omits the facts placing the king in an unfavourable light. We even know that Voltaire certainly was in contact with Nordberg regarding the differences in the details of the biographies.²³

Finally, it should be mentioned that there is a collection of Fabrice's letters concerning Charles' stay in Turkey which was published in Hamburg in 1760 (Voltaire himself solicited this publication). The collection is entitled *ANECDOTES DU SEJOUR DU ROI DE SUEDE A BENDER; OU LETTRES DE M^{re}. LE BARON DE FABRICE, POUR SERVIR D'ECLAIRCISSEMENT A L'HISTOIRE DE CHARLES XII*.²⁴ It is a collection of Fabrice's 94 letters written particularly to the Duke of Holstein and Baron Görtz (the duke's advisor), but also to other people, between the 31st of May 1710 and the 22nd of November 1714. One can read about the details of the publication and the controversies associated with it in the publisher's *Avant-propos: Le Séjour de Charles XII, à Bender, est sans contredit l'Epoque la plus remarquable de sa vie. L'honneur d'en donner au Public un détail exact & circonstancié, étoit seul réservé au Baron Frédéric Erneste de Fabrice, qui en qualité de Ministre suivit le Roi, & s'arrêta avec lui en Turquie, depuis le 10 Juin 1710 jusqu'au 1 Octobre 1714 jour du départ de sa Majesté ; il fut témoin oculaire de la Fermeté, de la Valeur, du Courage, & même des Extravagances héroïques de cet intrépide guerrier du Nord ; grand Politique, homme d'esprit, & qui plus est intègre, Fabrice sçut par son digne caractère gagner & l'amitié & la confiance du Monarque. Le Public [...] ne trouve ici que des Relations & des Anecdotes écrites au Duc Administrateur de Holstein, ou bien au malheureux*

22 The incident is known in the history of Sweden and has its Swedish name: *Kalabaliken i Bender* (the Swedes produced even a film comedy under such title in 1983). The word *kalabalik* from this phrase was borrowed from Turkish to Swedish and is currently used to denote: 'confusion', 'great disorder'.

23 There is Voltaire's letter *Lettre a Mr. Norberg, chapelain du roy de Suede Charles XII, auteur de l'Histoire de ce monarque* in the catalogue of the National Library of Australia, published in London in 1744, from which we learn about Voltaire's doubts as for the historical reliability of Nordberg's work.

24 Its digitised version is available on : <http://books.google.com>.

*Baron de Goertz, Ministre d'état; pieces qui ne parviennent qu'à la connoissance des personnes employées dans les affaires secrètes, ou dans les negociations [...]. toutes ces lettres sont Authentiques, & que les Originaux écrits en Chiffre se trouvent en bonne partie dans les Archives du Duc de H**.*

The content of the letters partially agrees with the text of the three letters in our manuscript, although the printed ones are generally quite long and do not have the same dates e.g. letter 46. is of the 15th of December 1712 and letter 47. – already of the 31st of January 1713, while the first letter from the manuscript is of the 27th of January. The following letter 48. is only of the 15th of February, whereas the second letter of the manuscript is of the 4th of February. 49. and 50. are of the 18th of February, 51. of the 19th of February, and 52. only of the 5th of March; while the third letter of the manuscript is dated to the 28th of February. Thus it can be assumed that the letters from the manuscript are different from the ones in the published collection. Hence a question arises to whom they were written if not to the Duke of Holstein and his advisor.

● Gall. Oct. 9

Suite du Journal de voyage de S. Petersbourg le 8 Aout, fait par von Zuckmantel.

The manuscript is differently bound than the others: 121 leaves of the manuscripts are contained by leather binding in the form of envelope. The handwriting points to one hand, although it is visible that the entries were made successively, at times carefully, at times hastily.

These are notes on the travel from Sankt-Petersburg up to Cobourg, which was taken by a certain Zuckmantel between the 8th of August 1756 and the 12th of January 1757. The author's notes on the things he sees are frequently general descriptions of places, but sometimes he relates particular features or events, or writes down the encountered names and quotations. Careless spelling of the places visited by Zuckmantel arouses curiosity. These are in turn: *S. Peterbourg, Wybourg* (written also as *Wibourg*), *Frederichshaven, Louise, Borgo, Helsingfors, Åbo (Abo), Alandshaf (Alands-Haff), Isle d'Aland, Stockholm, Upsala, Ulrichsdal, Drottingholm, Païs de Suede, Provinces de Suede, Helsingborg, Copenhagen, Le grand Belt, Hiebourg en fionie, Fionie, Hasersleben, Flensbourg, Rendsburg, Hambourg, Altona, Lubeck, Luterin, Swerin, Grabow, Fehrbellin, Ber-*

lin, Potsdam, Sanssouci, Magdebourg, Halberstatt, Duderstatt, Göttingen, Casselles, Eisenach, Gotha, Smaladen, Cobourg.

Apparently, the author often wrote them down phonetically, unsurely mixing forms in various languages. Besides, many of the names today have a different official form e.g. the place names on the territory of Finland formerly used to be employed officially only in Swedish,²⁵ but now the Finnish name is primary, e.g. Zuckmantel's *Borgo* is the Swedish name of the city of Borgå, which in Finnish is called Porvoo. Sometimes Zuckmantel adapts the names to French as well e.g. the town *Louise* is in fact Lovisa (in Swedish), or Loviisa (in Finnish). We can also observe that Zuckmantel mistakes the names e.g. writes about *Frederichshaven*, which brings to mind the name of the Danish harbour Fredrikshavn on the North-Eastern coast of the Jutland peninsula, but as the author was on his way from Petersburg to the Duchy of Finland, between Vyborg and Loviisa, then certainly the town in question is the town of the Swedish name Frederikshamn,²⁶ which today is called Hamina in Finnish.

The presumable author of the notes remains to be determined. In Siegfried Lemm's catalogue²⁷ we read: *Reise nach Anspach, wo der Verf. Hofprediger war* i.e. „a journey to Anspach, where the author was a court preacher“. We do not know wherefrom Lemm acquired such information about Zuckmantel. It might concern a representative of Zuckmantel family, the owners of the Osthoffen castle, who were one of the mightier families in Lower Alsace. A well-known man of the name at that time was e.g. baron François de Zuckmantel (1715–1779), Louis XV's ambassador to Venice (1771–1777), previously fulfilling the function of a minister in Saxony (1763–1770).²⁸

25 At that time Finland still belonged to the Kingdom of Sweden. Later, in 1809 it went under the rule of the Russian Empire and only in 1863 tsar Alexander II issued a decree recognising Finnish as the official language in the Grand Duchy of Finland.

26 Probably Zuckmantel associated the name of the two distant cities by meaning, as both the Swedish name *Fredrikshamn* and the Danish *Fredrikshavn* mean 'Frederick's harbour'. Etymologically the Swedish *hamn* and the Danish *havn* are identical. After all the present Finnish name of the town, Hamina, also originates in the Swedish etymon *hamn* and means 'harbour' as well. (cf. *Suomen sanojen alkuperä*, eds. E. Itkonen and U.-M. Kulonen, Helsinki: SKS, 1992, vol. 1, p. 136).

27 Siegfried Lemm, *Mitteilungen aus der Königlichen Bibliothek*, Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1918, vol. IV.

28 Cf. Sven Externbrink, *Friedrich der Grosse, Maria Theresia und das Alte Reich: Deutschlandbild und Diplomatie Frankreichs im Siebenjährigen Krieg*, Marburg: Akademie Verlag, 2006, p. 385.

● Gall. Fol. 163

Extrait d'un Manuscrit intitulé : Histoire des principaux événements du siècle passé en Suède, concernant particulièrement les 25 années, qui ont précédé la réunion de la Norvège à la Suède 1814

We are informed about the special history of the manuscript by the provenance note pasted on the initial flyleaf (certainly by a librarian during the cataloguing in the Prussian Library) which contains a piece of information in German acquainting us with the fact that is a gift of Pachelbel-Gehag²⁹ from his private collection which he bestowed upon the Prussian Library in 1836.

On f. 2^o there is a short introduction to the content of the manuscript, written in the same hand as all the other leaves:

Ce manuscrit, n'étant pas fait pour être mis sous les yeux de nos contemporains, a pour but d'éclairer la postérité des événements de nos jours. J'ai taché de mettre à nud les faits, pour les consigner avec le simple crayon de la vérité ; mais avec les égards dus à un grand sujet. Les erreurs, que j'ai pu commettre, ne sont pas dangereuses, j'espère ; car la ligne d'une révolution sociale, qui a tout soumis au code de la publicité, est si impérieusement tracée par la force des choses, que rien ne peut en devier impunément. Du reste la vérité est toujours l'allié le plus puissant de l'espèce humaine ; car elle seule est inaltérable et immortelle sur la terre.

The text of the manuscript relates the events preceding the uniting of Sweden and Norway in a personal union (then in the person of Charles XIII) which took place in 1814, when Denmark ceded Norway to Sweden. The titles announce the presentation of facts from 25 years preceding the year, but the author mainly focuses on several years immediately before the year: 1810–1814 in particular. It is a significant period, since when in 1809 Charles XII became the king of Sweden, he was an old and decrepit man, and was childless; in connection with these facts the Riksdag gathered in Örebro in 1810³⁰ elected, rather

accidentally, the French marshal Jean Baptiste'a Bernadotte³¹ successor to the Swedish throne, and the infirm Charles XIII passed the actual authority on to him. Bernadotte still then fought with Napoleon, and Estates present in the Riksdag relied on his salutary influence in the political and economic respect.

Certainly, Bernadotte surrounded himself at the court with francophone people and this might explain the fact that the manuscript is written in French and it is even possible that its author was French.³² The date of the manuscript origin should be placed between 1814 (the content describes *post factum* the events preceding the union of Sweden and Norway in 1814) and 1836 (on the note in German pasted on the initial flyleaf there is the information that Pachelbel-Gehag bestowed the manuscript upon the Library in 1836).

● Gall. Fol. 184

Correspondance de Blucher et Bernadotte 1813

We are invoking the manuscript Gall. Fol. 184 here, as it concerns the Swedish successor to the throne marshal Bernadotte and his correspondence with the Prussian general Blücher.³³ Bernadotte fought in the coalition against Napoleon during the Russian Campaign (1812) and the German Campaign (1813), in which together with the Russians, the Austrians and the Prussians he defeated him in the so-called "Battle of the Nations" or the Battle of Leipzig (the 16th–19th of October 1813). Bernadotte commanded then the so-called Northern Army which, however, did not engage actively in fighting, since the

31 Jean Baptiste Bernadotte was born in Pau in France in 1763; he distinguished himself in the Napoleonic wars, initially on Napoleon's side and since 1812 against him. He received the title of marshal in 1804 and the title of the prince of Pontecorvo in 1806. After the adoption (1810) by the Swedish king Charles XII he became successor to the throne and in 1818 – the king of Sweden and Norway as Charles XIV John (he reigned until his death in 1844), establishing the dynasty presently reigning in Sweden.

32 A hypothesis could be proposed that it is e.g. a French-language abridgement of the work by Johan Fredrik Lundblad, a Swedish historian, the author of many works on Swedish history. The reason being that the contributor of the manuscript, H.Ch.F. von Pachelbel-Gehag himself, certainly knew Lundblad, as he translated one of the works into German: *Geschichte des Königs Carl X Gustav*, Berlin: Mittler. The Swedish original was entitled *Konung Carl X Gustafs historia*, Stockholm: Ecsteinska tryckeriet, 1825–1829.

33 Gebhard Leberecht Prince Blücher von Wahlstatt (1742–1819) – Prussian marshal who commanded the army of anti-Napoleon coalition (1813–1815).

29 Heinrich Christian Friedrich von Pachelbel-Gehag (1763–1838), German historian and translator inc. from Swedish.

30 The Riksdag had already gathered also in 1809, soon after the crowning of Charles XII, when it could be observed that the king did not cope with his duties. Prince Charles (later Christian) August of Augustenborg, a Danish commander in Norway, was then elected successor to the throne, but he died suddenly in May 1810. Cf. Alan Palmer, *Pólnocne sąsiedztwo*, op. cit., p. 197.

prince still cherished the hope of replacing Napoleon and exchanging the Swedish for the French crown³⁴ – hence he rather wanted to spare his compatriots fighting on the opposite side.

The manuscript is twinned with Gall. fol. 183, 185, 186 and 181, as all of them relate, albeit from various angles, the military actions of the coalition against Napoleon in 1813 and they are copies made in 1854³⁵ in the same scribe's hand.

We do not know who and to what purpose transcribed the correspondence of the Napoleonic coalition commanders or how they reached the Prussian Library. All the manuscripts Gall. Foll. 181, 183, 184, 185 and 186 have the same style of writing (careful and even) as well as almost identical size and binding. Unfortunately, we should mention that the scribe was not fluent in French and there are often obvious mistakes in the texts, which are the result of an incorrect reading of the original; in some places somebody made corrections in pencil later on.

The letters of the present manuscript, 42 in total, are ordered chronologically between the 15th of August and the 19th of November 1813; sometimes an hour is also given. Each letter begins with the opening formula *Mon cher ...* 'My dear ...' and ends in the first name or its initial (so rather in an informal manner, from which it can be inferred that the prince and the general were friends). Usually, there is the information given at the beginning or at the end about the place of the letter writing. Each letter begins on the recto page. If it occupies only one page, then verso is left empty.

Places mentioned in the letters testify to both commanders' armies movement. Blücher writes in turn from *Wurben, Kameritz, Herrnhuth, Koisigsbruck, Kemberg, Dubin, Jernitz, Jessnitz, Altenkirchen*. Whereas Bernadotte writes to the general from: *Charlottenbourg, Potsdam, Rechlsdorff, Saarmund, Zerbst, Befsau, Defsau, Zebitz, Zewitz, Rottembourg, Rothembourg, Cothen, Beitenfeld, Hanovre*. Significant variations in the spelling of many place names can be observed (e.g. *Jernitz/Jessnitz* or *Befsau/Defsau*), which clearly demonstrates the scribe's problems with deciphering the originals and rewriting the texts.

34 Cf. Wolfgang Froese, *Historia państw i narodów Morza Bałtyckiego* (the original title *Geschichte der Ostsee. Völker und Staaten am Baltischen Meer*), translated into Polish by Ewa Płomińska-Krawiec, Warszawa: PWN, 2007, p. 218.

35 The fact that the copies originate in 1854 is known thanks to the scribe's German colophon in the manuscript Gall. Fol. 183.

The remaining manuscripts about the campaign 1813–1814 (Gall. Fol. 181, 183, 185, 186) represent the correspondence (mainly commands and orders) of the remaining commanders taking part in it inc.: the Prince of Schwarzenberg,³⁶ the generals – Wrede,³⁷ Bülow³⁸ and Wittgenstein,³⁹ and the Russian tsar Alexander. However, there are not only orders sent between commanders in the manuscripts, but other letters occur e.g. in the manuscript Gall. Fol. 186, on f. 70^r, there is even a copy of Napoleon's letter to his wife, Empress Marie Louise: *Copie de la lettre autographe de l'Emp: Napoléon à l'Impératrice (après l'affaire d'Arès)*, signed: *Nn*. While on f. 71^r there is marshal Blücher's letter to the empress *Copie de la lettre du Marechal Blucher à l'Impératrice Maria Louisa*, signed: *Blucher*.

● Gall. Qu. 34

Sophie Albertine de Suède. Correspondance.

The manuscript consists of 5 integral texts:

– Firstly, 4 letters written in the same hand – in an elegant, even, possibly woman's handwriting; the style of the text is affected and appears studied, unnatural. It is a copy of the correspondence of the Swedish princess Sophia Albertina,⁴⁰ Abbess of Quedlinburg.

pp. 1–9: *Copie de la lettre de S.A.R. Madame la Princesse de Suède Abbess de Quedlinburg, à Mr Son Chancelier de Molfer en date Stockolm, le 18^{eme} Janvier 1799*. The princess writes to her chancellor that she is sending him a copy of an anonymous letter found in the living room on the 29th of March 1795 (it is the third text of the manuscript) referring to her lady-in-waiting, Lolotte, and a copy of the

36 Karl Philipp von Schwarzenberg (1771–1820), Austrian marshal who distinguished himself particularly in the battle of Leipzig.

37 Karl Philipp von Wrede (1767–1838), Bavarian field marshal who initially sided with Napoleon, but in 1813, soon before the battle of Leipzig, took the side of the anti-Napoleonic coalition.

38 Friedrich Wilhelm Bülow von Dennewitz (1755–1816), Prussian general who served under Bernadotte in the anti-Napoleonic campaign and distinguished himself with several won battles.

39 Ludwig Adolph Peter Graf zu Sayn-Wittgenstein (1769–1843), field marshal in the Tsarist Russian army; he commanded the Russian-Prussian armies in the anti-Napoleonic campaign.

40 Sophie Albertina (1753–1829) was the youngest child of king Adolf Frederick of Sweden (1710–1771) and queen Louisa Ulrika of Prussia (1720–1782).

letter found in October (it is the fourth text of the manuscript). Sophia Albertina reveals that it follows from the letters that her lady-in-waiting Lolotte Forsberg is her half-sister as an illegitimate daughter of her father, which the princess accepts and wishes it to be known and her noble birth to be recognised.

pp. 10–11: *Extrait d'une lettre de Madame la Princesse au Conseiller privé d'Amsted datée Stokolm le 22 Janvier 1799*. In the fragment the princess writes briefly on the matter, although she remarks that certainly her advisor has already learnt about it from Molfer.

pp. 13–21: *Copie de la lettre trouvée dans le Divan de S.A.R. Madame la Princesse de Suède Abbessse de Quedlinbourg le 29^{eme} Mars 1795*. Under the heading of the letter there is the mention: *La date de la lettre est du 20 Mars sans nom et adresse du lieu*. The letter is anonymous, but it follows from the content that Lolotte Forsberg is an illegitimate daughter of king Adolf Frederick, which until then had been kept in complete secrecy.

pp. 21–28: a letter with a long introduction: *Copie de la lettre de l'inconnue adressée à S.A.R. Madame la Princesse de Suède Abbessse de Quedlinbourg avec un paquet adressé par feu la Reine, et de sa propre main, à S.A.R. Madame La Princesse sa fille*. Subsequently it is explained that on the 22nd of October 1795 a man (who disappeared immediately) brought the letter and an enclosed parcel to the princess' palace and passed them on to count *Gustave Stembock*,⁴¹ asking him to give them to the princess privately and secretly. The letter is addressed to the princess and bears at the end the anonymous signature: *De Votre Altesse Royale la plus humble et soumise servante*. An unknown woman writes in the letter about Lolotte's royal descent and about the fact that the queen had known about everything and that indeed she took care of revealing the truth at the appropriate time. As the proof, the parcel containing the queen's jewels is enclosed.

Whereas at the very end of the manuscript there is a different text, written in a different hand and on a different paper. It is a long, quite sarcastic commentary on the events described in the preceding letters. The author treats

them as proof of a studied intrigue and quotes many arguments testifying to the improbability of the fact related there. The handwriting is different, less clear, but firm, and the style – lively, so perhaps it was a person whose mother tongue was French (colloquial phrases and at places deletions next to corrections might testify to the author's spontaneity and ease of expression). The forms employed in the text (adjectives and past participles) are masculine, so most certainly the author was a man; it follows from the text that he stayed at the Swedish court in the years described (copies of the letters are dated between 1795 and 1799, but they also relate events from the past, since 1766).

It is difficult to ascertain the precise date of the commentary. There are meaningful premises emerging from the content and the historical context that the text was written around 1810, so at the time when Prince Bernadotte became successor to the Swedish throne. His administration and ministers were for the most part French (perhaps the author fulfilled some function at the court). This might be the reason for the whole correspondence being in French: in the case of the first letters, princess Sophia Albertina wanted them to be read by the francophone decision-makers (the main point was to persuade the minister of justice, of which one can learn indirectly from the princess' first letter to Molfer) and so that Lolotte's noble birth would be officially recognised, which would grant her many privileges; and in the case of the final letter – a French-speaking courtier acquainted himself with the correspondence and commented on it.

The central, although mysterious, character of all the texts of the manuscript is Lolotte Forsberg (1766 [or 1769]–1840) – the supposed illegitimate daughter of king Adolf Frederick. It is difficult to find historical data about her childhood. It is known that she became princess Sophia Albertina's maid, and then her lady-in-waiting. In 1799 (it is a symptomatic year for the princess stirred the matter exactly then) she married count Gustav Harald Stenbock (1764–1838) and had one son by him. Various rumours about her can be found in various sources; the one repeated the most often is that she was a daughter of the noblewoman Ulrika Elisabeth (Ulli) von Lieven (1747–1775) and king Adolf Frederick of Sweden, but was adopted by Eric Forsberg and Hedvig Charlotte d'Orchimont.

The text of the final part of the manuscript underscores many noticeable incongruities regarding "the revelation" of the maid's noble descent. The author argues that the supposed copies of the letters were certainly forged by


41 There is a footnote by the count's name: *Premier Gentilhomme de la Cour de la Princesse, le même qui fut l'année passée à Berlin pour féliciter le Roi sur Son Avènement*. The footnote is very significant because might point to the enthronement of Charles XIII in 1809 (the one who adopted Bernadotte in 1810), as the count congratulated the king on being enthroned "last year". There are two subsequent footnotes in this letter, and there are others in the remaining letters, so one might wonder why such explanations of the text are provided.

Cookery books among the French manuscripts in the Jagiellonian Library Berlin Collection in Kraków

Fibula

the princess, and the original had never existed. The princess sent these “copies” to somebody as the proof of her maid’s royal descent, and the motives of the intrigue are presented by the anonymous commentator in his text in a brilliant and credible manner. The historical context seems to confirm the mystification.

To end our research of the Scandinavian accents in the manuscripts *Gallica* of the Berlin Collection it should be mentioned that in some of the manuscripts they also appear fragmentarily e.g. in Gall. Fol. 194, where among copies of various documents there are fragments of Latin works connected to Sweden: Samuel von Pufendorf’s *De rebus suecicis* (1686) and Tobias Pfanner’s *Historia pacis Germano-Gallo-Suecicae Monasteri atque Osnabrugae tractatae* (1681). It is not known why the fragments have been found among the documents comprised by the manuscript, but, interestingly, even as the scribe rewrote them very neatly, they contain an exceedingly large number of spelling mistakes.

We can conclude our review of the Scandinavian accents in the *Gallica* manuscripts in the Berlin Collection, having studied the aforementioned manuscripts, by admitting that they undoubtedly constitute a large part of the common history of Northern and Southern Europe. The explanation for the documents on people associated with Scandinavian countries having been found in the Romance-language collection lies in the biography of these persons. The history of connections between both parts of Europe is remarkably splendid. 

The Berlin Collection is very rich and diverse. Several times, I encountered statements from the Directors of the Jagiellonian Library or from the heads of the Manuscript Department given to the press for a wider public that in this manuscript collection we can find even cookery books. How old are the handwritten cookery books?

French cuisine had always been rich and refined. The need of editing such collections was felt very early on. Many of them were created in the Middle Ages, in the 13th and 14th century. The most renowned cookery book of the period is *Le Viandier Taillevent*. The book enjoyed long-standing success, published in 1490, it ran into 12 edition, the last of which came out in 1602. Its authorship is attributed to Wilhelm Tirel, known as Taillevent¹, born in circa 1314, associated throughout his life with the royal court, initially, at the age of around 12, as a cook’s apprentice to the queen Jeanne d’Evreux; later he served Philip de Valois, Charles V and Charles VI. The authorship of *Viandier* attributed to Wilhelm Tirel is currently contested, considering the fact that the oldest manuscript had been created before Wilhelm was born.² In the following centuries many such cookery books were written.

There are four items of the type among nearly 250 manuscripts in the Berlin Collection in Kraków. All the four appear in one inventory series: the catalogue numbers Gall. Quart. 143 through 146, which means that they were acquired by the Royal Library³ in Berlin at the same time. It is also attested by accession

1 Contemporary editions: *Le Viandier de Guillaume Tirel, dit Taillevent*, Jérôme Pichon et Georges Vicaire (eds.), Paris 1892; *The Viandier of Taillevent*, Terence Scully (ed.), Ottawa 1988.

2 See Anne-Françoise Leurquin-Labie’s article, in: *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises. Le Moyen Age*, édition entièrement revue et mise à jour sous la direction de Geneviève Hasenohr et Michel ZINK, Paris 1992, pp. 647^b–648^a.

3 The stamps of the Library are to be found on the leaves 3r^o, 114v^o in ms. Gall. Quart. 143; 1r^o, 42v^o in ms. Gall. Quart. 144; 1r^o, 48v^o in ms. Gall. Quart. 145; and

numbers, bearing the date 1915.⁴ There are no descriptions of the manuscripts in Lemm's catalogue⁵, nor any mention of them in any place at the present stage of research. Considering the second element of the accession number, appearing after the date, three of the discussed manuscripts arrived at the Royal Library at the same time, while the manuscript Gall. Quart. 146 – not much later. Originally, there were to be found in the same collection as well: they contain earlier catalogue numbers, written in one hand, and additionally, they are successive numbers: *Fr. 88*, *Fr. 89*, *Fr. 90* and *Fr. 91*.⁶ In addition, all the items contain on the initial pastedown a pasted label with the coat-of-arms and bookplate of Dr. Georg Freund, a German bibliophile, and the aforementioned catalogue numbers are probably inventory numbers of his collection, written in his hand. The bindings of the manuscripts are similar to one another, with the exception of the ms. Gall. Quart. 146, having a parchment binding with flaps. The three remaining bindings are made of brown marbled leather. In the case of the manuscripts Gall. Quart. 144–145 the binding is almost identical, and it cannot be a matter of chance, as the manuscripts contain the very same text (which will be discussed below), and they were possibly executed in the same atelier. Nothing points to the fact that the history of the manuscripts had been identical (with the exception of the manuscripts Gall. Quart. 144–145), before they made their way to Dr. Georg Freund's collection.

The manuscripts Gall. Quart. 143 and 146 were designed as books, which were supposed to be lasting, with a multi-layered structure; both contain many empty leaves destined for successive completion of the first and subse-

quent owners. The form of the collections (recipes) made it perfectly possible, and so it happened.

The manuscript Gall. Quart. 143 originates from 1669, or rather its first layer was created in this year. The date is to be found on the leave 1^{ro} and it is written in the first handwriting of the text. Its title is the following: *Pour faire toutes sortes de Confitures liquides* [How to make all kinds of liquid confitures]. The reference is not to the present meaning of fruit preserves. At the time the term *confitures* had a broader meaning than today, hence we find here also recipes for perfumes or brandy.⁷ The greatest part of the recipes were written in the first handwriting: ff. 3^{ro}–32^{vo}, 34^{ro}–35^{vo}, 38^{ro}–39^{vo}, 43^{ro}–44^{vo}, 58^{ro}–59^{ro}, 62^{ro}–63^{vo}, 65^{ro}–69^{ro}, 77^{ro}, 78^{ro}–80^{vo}, 84^{ro}–86^{ro}, 91^{vo}–92^{ro}, 93^{ro}–94^{vo}, 97^{ro}–^{vo}, 99^{ro}–100^{ro}, 102^{ro}–^{vo}, but the manuscript was enriched at a later period: the second handwriting appears on the leave 103^{ro}–^{vo}, and the third one – on the leaves 109^{ro}–114^{ro}. The structure of quires suggests the present lack of six leaves. It is a great curiosity that the manuscript was written in three languages: French (ff. 3^{ro}–32^{vo}, 43^{ro}–44^{vo}, 63^{ro}–^{vo}, 65^{ro}, 93^{ro}–94^{vo}, 99^{ro}–100^{ro}, 109^{ro}–114^{ro}), Flemish (ff. 34^{ro}–35^{vo}, 38^{ro}–39^{vo}, 58^{ro}–59^{ro}, 62^{ro}–^{vo}, 65^{ro}–69^{ro}, 77^{ro}, 78^{ro}–80^{vo}, 84^{ro}–

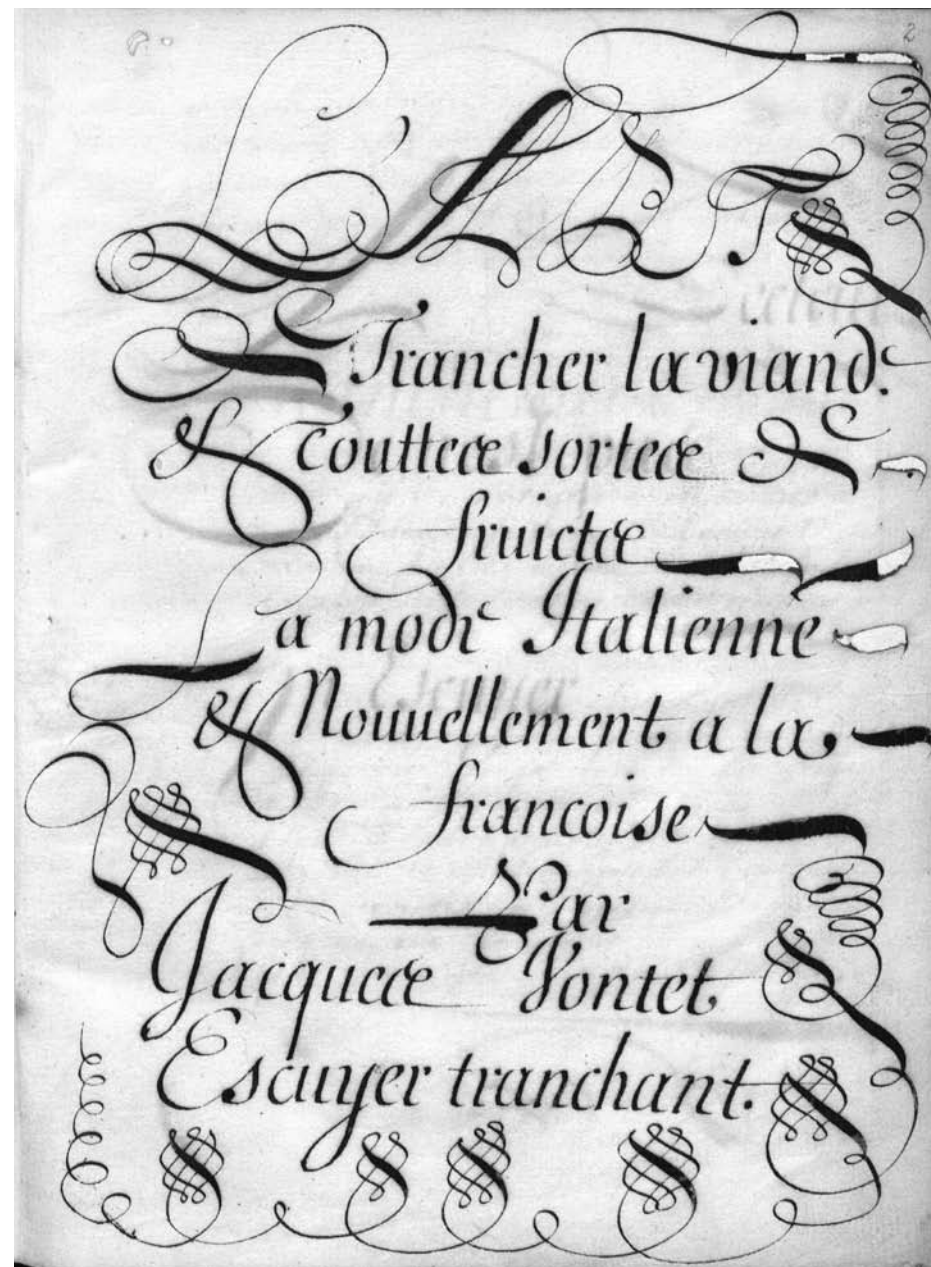
1^{ro}, 76^{vo} in ms. Gall. Quart. 146.

4 The successive accession numbers for each manuscript are as follows: *acc. ms. 1915.254.*, *acc. ms. 1915.252.*, *acc. ms. 1915.253.*, *acc. ms. 1915.320.* (the same handwriting).

5 Lemm's catalogue was published in Berlin in 1918 (Siegfried Lemm, *Mitteilungen aus der Königlichen Bibliothek*, herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung, IV: *Kurzes Verzeichnis der romanischen Handschriften*), then it could be expected that the manuscripts acquired by the Royal Library in Berlin in 1915 should have been taken into account by the scholar. However, at that time Lemm could no longer work on the manuscripts, since he was fighting in trenches during World War I, as a result of which he died. The aforementioned catalogue, but in fact only an inventory, with very scant information, was published posthumously. The author had planned it to be a start to a great and detailed catalogue, which never materialized. We could say that Lemm's wish is presently fulfilled by the *Fibula* group.

6 For the successively corresponding present catalogue numbers.

7 The French *confiture* derives from the verb *confire*, in turn deriving from the Latin *conficere*. Initially, in the Middle Ages, the verb *confire* had a very general meaning: *to prepare, to season* (cf. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* par Oscar Bloch et W[alter] von Wartburg, Paris 1960, p. 147^b). We find out thanks to Edmond Huguet's dictionary (*Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*, vol. II, Paris 1929, p. 432) that around a hundred years later, in the 16th century, *confitures* mean, among other things, all kinds of products prepared in a manner allowing their longer preservation. They were „aliments préparés pour la conservation“, according to Huguet's definition, who then quotes fragments of 16th century text in which as *confitures* appear e.g. olives, hams, smoked ox tongues, ripe cheeses. By the end of the 17th c., Antoine Furetière's dictionary (the so-called *le Furetière*) contains a much narrower meaning: „Préparation faite avec du sucre, ou du miel, qu'on donne aux fruits, aux herbes, aux fleurs, aux racines, ou à certains sucs pour plaire au goust, ou pour les conserver.“ The French Academy dictionary from 1762 gives an even more narrow definition: „Fruits confits, racines confites au sucre ou au miel“, which we also find in Jean-François Féraud's dictionary (the so-called *Féraud critique*) from 1787: „*Confiture* se dit des fruits ou des racines confites au sucre, au miel, etc.“ However, the dictionary by Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye z 1749 contains an echo of the former, broad meaning of *confitures*: „Au premier sens, ce mot étoit générique, comme celui de confire: 'Ce seigneur vint à son queue (cuisinier) et lui dit qu'il mit le coeur en si bonne manière, et l'apareillasse en telle *confiture*, que on en peut bien manger.' [...] Nous avons restreint le sens de ce mot à certaines préparations avec le sucre ou le miel.“



86r^o, 91v^o–92r^o, 97r^o–v^o, 102r^o–v^o) and German (ff. 103r^o–v^o). The French and Flemish parts were written in the same hand (with the exception of the leaves 109r^o–114r^o) – it is the first, original handwriting of the collection. I believe that the manuscript originated from the Netherlands. It seems more probable that the Flemish language user rewrote the recipes in French for his private use and completed the collection with the recipes in his/her mother tongue, rather than the reverse. Besides, the linguistic features suggest that the author of the French part was not francophone. The aforementioned later additions, also in German, were made not later than the 17th century. Does it mean that the book was used in some family only for two, at most three generations?

The manuscript Gall. Quart. 146 dates back to the 18th century and is a 'comprehensive' cookery book, although not containing recipes for confitures, not even in the broad, older sense of the word. It was written in three handwritings, the two first being dominant; all three interchange in different parts of the manuscript, mutually complementing one another. Thus, the manuscript was created successively. There are two kinds of paper: white and blue.

Both the manuscript Gall. Quart. 146 and the previous one are an example of an applied book, made for private needs, growing in content over time. The manuscripts Gall. Quart. 144 and 145 constitute a different case. Both contain the text under the title: *L'art de trancher la viande et toute sorte de fruict, à la mode italienne et nouvellement à la françoise par Jacques Vontet, Ecuyer tranchant*⁸ [The art of carving meat and all kinds of fruit, in the Italian and recently French fashion, written by Jacques Vontet, the carver]. It is a manual, handwritten (as for the text) and printed (as for the copperplates – identical in both cases), prepared by the carver Jacques Vontet, the copies of which the master distributed to his apprentices. Jacques Vontet was Swiss, coming from Fribourg, who taught the art of carving in the ducal courts of Europe and spent the rest of his life in Lyon.⁹ His minor work enjoyed a large popularity and was being rewritten until the half of the 18th century.

Ms. Gall. Quart. 144 contains information about the scribe and the place and date of origin: *Audiffret scripsit Lugduni. 1669* (1r^o). Thus, it is a copy, especially

that the original was made somewhat earlier, in 1646¹⁰ or 1647.¹¹ Still we are dealing here with an autograph in the sense that the copperplates are accompanied by numbers designating different animal parts (to carve), as well as notes, written in Jacques Vontet's hand, similarly to other manuscripts, also in ms. Gall. Quart. 145. The same colophon (*Audiffret Scripsit 1669*) appears also in another manuscript (put up for sale for 20000/25000 Euros) and Audiffret was probably one of Jacques Vontet's apprentices.¹² Indeed, in both manuscripts it is the same handwriting and the same paleographic manner.¹³ The manuscript recently put up for sale is also connected in some way to the manuscript Gall. Quart. 145. In fact both contain the same coat-of-arms.¹⁴ It is François Basset's coat-of-arms, a Police officer in Lyon, in 1646–1647.¹⁵ Ms. Gall. Quart. 145 does not contain a date, but the presence of the coat-of-arms, appearing also in the manuscript, containing the same minor work, executed in 1669, allows the dating of it to approximately that period, but not necessarily to 1669. Indeed, the same coat-of-arms appears in the manuscript of *The Art of Carving Meat and Fruit*, from the Hroar Dege collection, made in Lyon, possibly in 1647.¹⁶ In any case, considering the origin of the aforementioned manuscripts and the person of François Basset, ms. Gall. Quart. 145 was also executed in Lyon. It should be noted that the scribe here is no longer Audiffret (the handwriting is evidently different, although the writing school – similar). Additionally, it is a curiosity that yet another manuscript, kept today in Lyon (Bibl. Mun. 1002), generally dated to the 17th century, containing the same manual with the copperplates, probably bears the same coat-of-arms.¹⁷

Ms. Gall. Quart. 144 contains 42 leaves (and two initial and two final flyleaves) on which there are 58 copperplates (ff. 4r^o, 6r^o, 7r^o, 8r^o, 9r^o, 10r^o, 11r^o, 12r^o, 13r^o, 14r^o, 15r^o, 16r^o–17r^o, 18r^o, 19r^o, 20r^o, 21r^o, 22r^o–23r^o, 24r^o, 25r^o, 26r^o, 28r^o, 29r^o, 31r^o,

10 Cf. www.bibliore.com/cat-vent_drouot1-2-6-06-1-3.pdf

11 Cf. e.g. <http://classes.bnf.fr/decoupe/index.htm>

12 Cf. www.bibliore.com/cat-vent_drouot1-2-6-06-1-3.pdf

13 Cf. the reproductions published on the website quoted in the footnotes 10 and 12.

14 F. 1r^o in the manuscript Gall. Quart. 145.

15 Cf. www.bibliore.com/cat-vent_drouot1-2-6-06-1-3.pdf

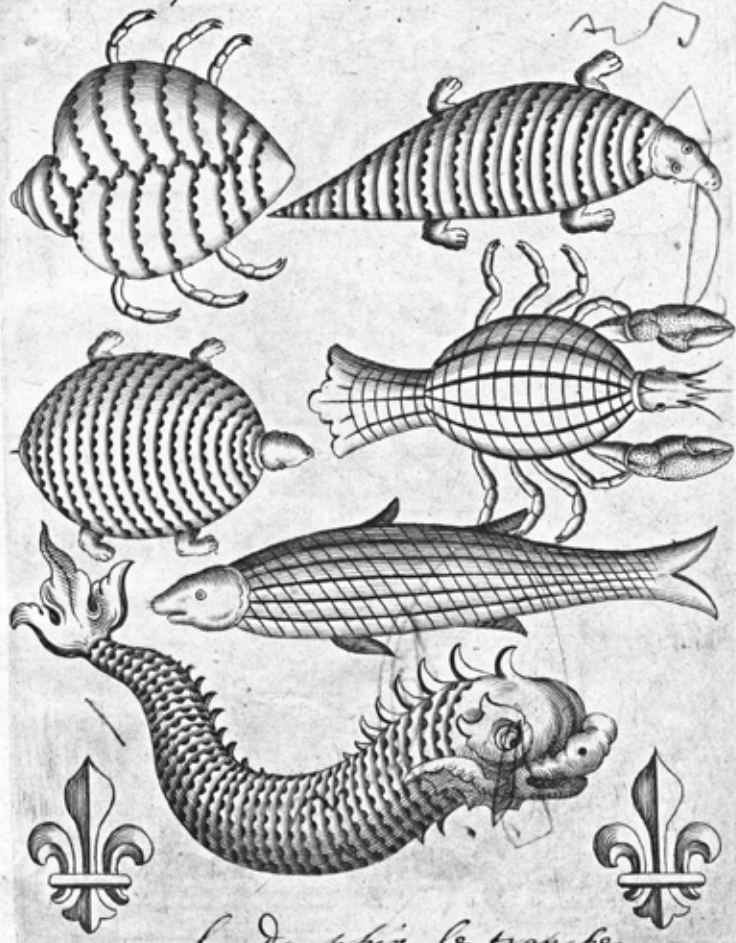
16 Cf. *ibidem*.

17 This can be concluded from an abridged description of the manuscripts published on the website: http://pleade.bm-lyon.fr/sdx/pl/doc-tdm.xsp?id=FRCGM-693836101-01a_D33B10898&fmt=tab&base=fa. In the description the coat-of-arms is not identified: it reads, „armoires indéterminées”.

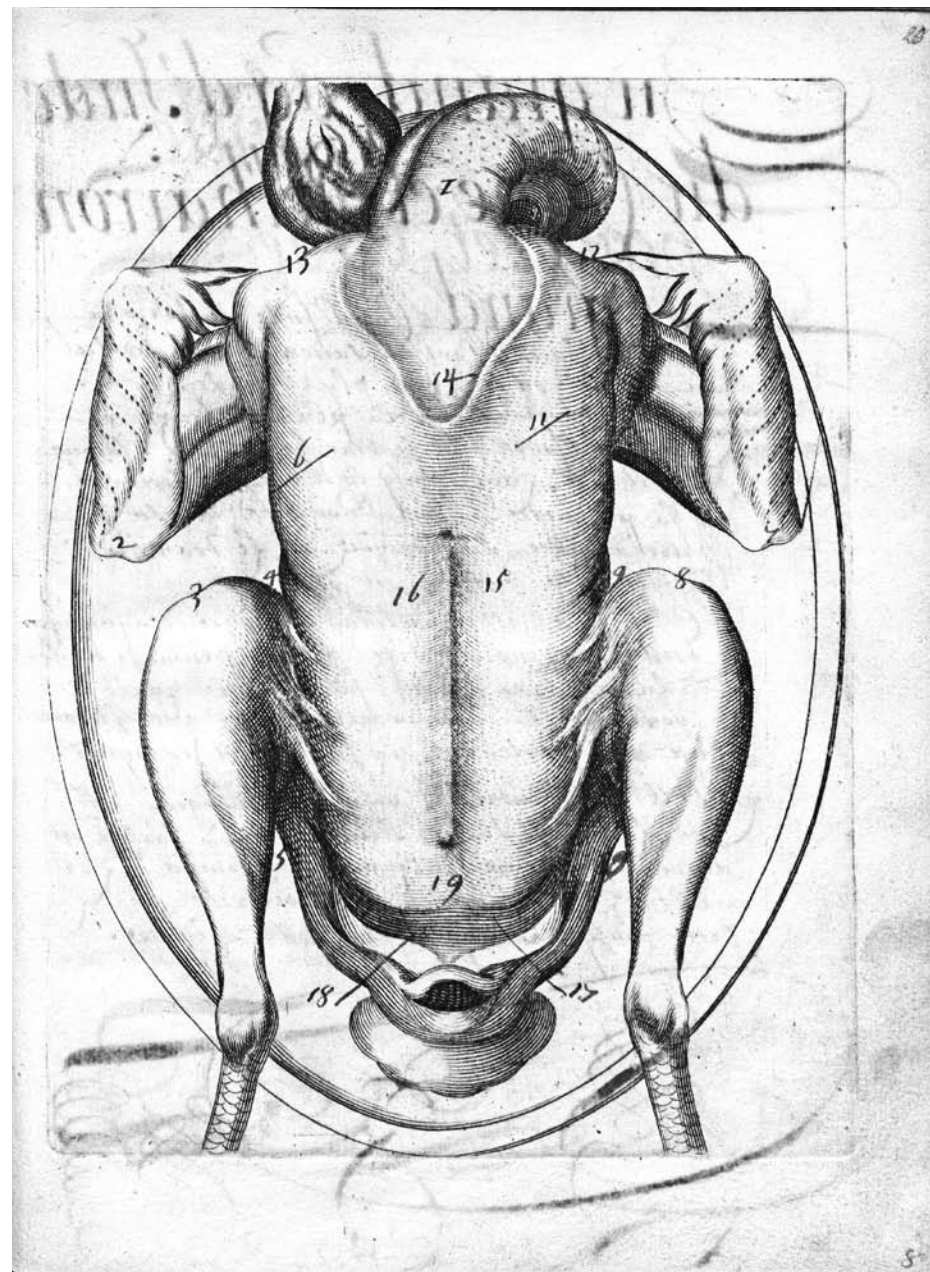
8 Quoted after the manuscript Gall. Quart. 144 (f. 1r^o).

9 Cf. http://www.bibliore.com/cat-vent_drouot24-4-06-7.pdf

L'araigne de mer les pieces
saluances l'une d'un costé l'autre
de l'autre & tous travaillé
Le genre de travail que piece & l'autre
point & de mesure du mesme




Le Dauphin & les triches
Le travail entièrement



32^o, 33^o, 34^o, 35^o, 36^o, 37^o, 38^o, 39^o, 40^o, 41^o, 42^o), including 18 occupying the whole page. Whereas ms. Gall. Quart. 145 contains 48 leaves (and two initial and two final flyleaves) on which there are 48 copperplates (ff. 5^o, 7^o, 8^o, 9^o, 10^o, 11^o, 12^o, 13^o, 14^o, 15^o, 16^o, 17^o, 18^o, 20^o, 21^o, 23^o, 24^o, 25^o, 26^o, 27^o, 29^o, 30^o–v^o, 32^o, 33^o, 35^o, 36^o, 37^o, 39^o, 40^o, 41^o, 42^o, 43^o, 44^o, 45^o, 46^o, 47^o, 48^o), including 15 occupying the whole page. The copperplates are identical in both manuscripts, but they do not always appear, in one and the other case, in corresponding places. The latter, besides being scantier in copperplates (but e.g. the one found on f. 45^o does not appear in ms. Gall. Quart. 144), contains also an incorrect structure of quires. Besides, e.g. leaves 3–4 should come in the order 4–3. Additionally, many leaves are missing: 2 leaves were cut out between leaves 26 and 27, and also 1 leave is probably missing between leaves 34 and 35. Its pastedowns and initial and final flyleaves are made out of decorative paper, unlike in the manuscript Gall. Quart. 144. Considering the esteem with which we regard old manuscripts today, it might be shocking that on the manuscript Gall. Quart. 144 there are chaotic drawings in pencil, especially on the empty leaves, as if a result of child's play, but it only testifies to the fact that once they were simply books.

Presently over a dozen manuscripts of *The Art of Carving Meat and Fruit* by Jacques Vontet are known.¹⁸ A section of them are found in France, where some were recently put up for sale, e.g. in 2006 the item from the gastronomic Library of count Emmanuel d'André, for the sum of 30000/40000 Euros.¹⁹ except for the manuscript quoted above. Besides, one manuscript is found in Metz, another – in Hungary, yet another – in the United States, etc.

The manuscripts presented here in short deserve particular attention not only as bibliophile objects, but also as carriers of information about French culture, in this case culinary culture, and about the French language of the past eras. And precisely the cultural and lexical aspects of the discussed manuscripts are currently studied by my MA students, Polish students at the Jagiellonian University.²⁰ 

18 A list of them can be found on the website quoted in footnote 10.

19 http://www.bibliore.com/cat-vent_drouot24-4-06-2.pdf

20 Agata Iwańska studies the manuscript Gall. Quart. 146, Dominika Barchan – the manuscript Gall. Quart. 143, and Maciej Żubryk – the two manuscripts Gall. Quart. 144–145. However, I would like to underline that the present article is a result of my individual research.